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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF

LOUISA, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA

TWO VOLUMES.—II.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF

LOUISA
QUEEN OF PRUSSIA

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY

By ELIZABETH HARRIOT HUDSON

AUTHOR OF 'QUEEN BERTHA AND HER TIMES,'
'RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT TO BRITISH KAFFRARIA,' ETC.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

LOUISA, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

SIX months after the death of the late King, Frederick William III. set out on a tour to make himself acquainted with the eastern provinces of his dominions; and he took with him his Queen to introduce her to his subjects. For the sake of convenience they here and there separated, soon to meet again at an appointed place.

Very few of the oldest inhabitants of the remote districts through which they were to pass had ever seen a Queen, as it was quite unusual for the sovereign to be accompanied by his consort when he made a progress through the provinces far distant from his Capital. Queen Louisa's appearance was therefore anticipated by those simple-minded people with a poetical kind of eagerness which burst forth in the most enthusiastic greetings. The noble lady, so sweetly beautiful, so queenly yet so gentle in her demeanour, felt as deeply interested in her husband's subjects as they were in her, felt real interest in every

one of the honest faces which looked up to her beaming with unaffected loyalty. The thought 'these are our people' touched her heart as truly as that of 'see our King and Queen' touched the hearts of the people. The tie was mutually strong, mutually binding, and it was a bond of love.

At Stargard in Pomerania the King reviewed the troops; the Queen also was present on that occasion, and thence she proceeded towards Custrin. At a village not far from that city the country people ventured to approach the Queen's carriage to beg that she would alight to partake of some refreshment which they had prepared. The gracious Queen did not disappoint them, she accepted the invitation, enjoyed the simple fare, and took advantage of the opportunity for conversing with the villagers on their circumstances, their families, and their modes of life.

At Dantzic the King and Queen were received with great ceremony, and a succession of festivities. The amber-workers of that district presented Her Majesty with a beautiful amber necklace, which she constantly wore during her stay at Dantzic, to the great delight of the artisans.

But gay circles and brilliant scenes illuminated by artificial light must ever weary those who love simplicity. The young Queen felt this, and refreshed herself and her attendants by making excursions into the country. One day they ascended the Karlsberg, and invigorated mind and body by surveying the magnificent and varied prospect over land and sea. The table-land on which she stood is still called Louisa's Grove.

Orders had been issued by the local authorities that

no person should trouble the King on this journey by presenting a petition. One man, however, broke through this prohibition, and throwing himself on his knees before the King, held up a petition. The King took it, but as he did so he remarked in an audible, impressive tone of voice, 'No man should kneel before any human being.'

From Dantzic they proceeded to Königsberg, and lived for about a week in the Palace of the old Capital of Prussia. Here they were welcomed with the warmest expressions of attachment; immense crowds of people collected to gain a passing sight of the King and Queen, and to do them honour. The having once in their lives beheld the lovely countenance of the Mother of the Land, and won a smile from her, was remembered as a thing to be thankful for; and as many women had brought their children to see her, it was afterwards considered a providential circumstance that no serious accident had occurred. Again and again bouquets and poems of welcome were offered to Queen Louisa, and her path was strewn with flowers.

The companies of the merchants of Königsberg displayed their loyalty in a very gratifying manner. They collected amongst themselves a large sum of money, with which they made a feast for all the destitute, wretched beings whom they could bring together, and also gave to every poor householder an uncommonly good dinner, a dollar, and a useful present to celebrate the Royal visit to the venerable city.

On the 9th of June the King quitted Königsberg for Warsaw, intending to travel via Georgenburg, and on the 10th the Queen followed by a different route. Notwithstanding the excessive heat of the weather, a

large body of the citizens of Königsberg insisted on escorting Her Majesty to Warsaw.

On this journey, as they were descending a steep hill, the Queen's carriage was overturned, owing to some want of proper caution on the part of the coachman. The Countess Von Voss thought he was not quite sober, and sharply rebuked him and some of the other servants who might have been to blame. The Queen, with her usual considerate kindness of heart, interfered. 'Thank God we are not hurt,' she said; 'let it pass over quietly, for the accident has frightened our people much more than it has frightened us; let us not add to their trouble.'

The King entered Warsaw on the evening of the 13th of June, and the Queen arrived immediately after him. The King had intimated that he did not wish any preparations made for giving him a formal reception. We know not the reason of this; perhaps he felt that the inhabitants of that chief city of the recently-acquired Polish provinces might not be heartily glad to see a King of Prussia, and certainly Frederick William III. did not wish to compel them to do him honour—he did not care for homage unwillingly bestowed. But when he had entered the city he perceived that nearly all the inhabitants must have come out of their homes to welcome him. The citizens had arranged themselves into companies, and formed a double row of about a quarter of a mile long from the bridge to the Palace. Their Majesties were saluted with cheers, and shouts, and waving flags. Excitement rose to the highest pitch, but the most perfect harmony prevailed. On the steps of the Palace stood fifty citizens' daughters dressed in white, with wreaths on

their heads and baskets in their hands. As they strewed their sweet flowers the King and Queen graciously acknowledged the compliment.

On the following day the King reviewed the troops and gave a banquet, and the Queen held a court. In the evening there was a brilliant illumination, and a grand entertainment was given by Count Von Hoyn, Privy Councillor and Minister of State, on which occasion the Queen opened the ball by dancing a Polonaise with Prince Radziwill.

Having spent five days in Warsaw, the King left early in the morning of the 18th of June; the Queen followed at a later hour. Louisa found that the citizens of the different guilds had stationed themselves in formal array ready to escort her on her way. Not wishing to give them trouble, she had repeatedly declined the proffered attention, but now, as she was leaving their city, she allowed them to attend her as far as the enclosure of Mola, where the loyal burghers of Warsaw formed themselves into two lines between which the Royal carriages passed. The farewell was expressed by flags waved downwards to the ground, and by cheers signifying good wishes, and promising firm attachment. The Queen expressed her adieus with that gracefulness so peculiarly charming because it was natural; her manner was a trustworthy index to her inward thoughts and sentiments.

The people of the neighbouring villages of Klein-kösel and Wiosko came out to see the Queen, and placed themselves in order on her route. Sixteen peasant girls in their Sunday costume greeted her by singing a lively Polish song; and as the carriage crossed the old frontier which had formerly separated Poland

from Prussia, it passed under a triumphal arch erected by the country people, and four-and-twenty Poles, all agricultural labourers, sang an appropriate song in their own language.

The warm reception given to the King and Queen at Warsaw, and all along their route through the province lately annexed to Prussia, must have been particularly gratifying to them, and should not be forgotten by those who describe this period. The loyalty freely expressed by the simple primitive people, shows that order and comfort were being brought out of chaos,—that popular feeling had been conciliated,—that, at least, a considerable number of Poles appreciated the blessings they enjoyed under a settled government to which they and their fathers had so long been strangers. The Queen passed on through the rich and populous province of Silesia, indissolubly connected with the memory of Frederick the Great. The Silesians are remarkable for the energy and success with which they pursue all kinds of industrial occupations. Nevertheless, their loyal welcome was poetical in the extreme. The good people reared triumphal arches, and ornamented them elaborately. At Wartenburg a rustic temple constructed of pine-trees and evergreens was erected. In accordance with the love of allegory, and the taste for classical allusions which then prevailed, a number of young maidens dressed in white were stationed in the temple. They were supposed to be watching by an altar on which a sacred flame was burning which must not be permitted to expire. When the royal carriages were seen approaching, six of these vestal virgins came forth to strew flowers and to sing an effective part-

song which had been composed for the occasion. Those who remained within the temple threw incense on the altar to feed the flame, which was designed to represent the flame of Love,—that pure, generous love between the sovereign and his people, which should be kept alive.

The Queen travelled with post-horses, which were frequently changed. In the rural districts the country-people decorated the animals as they, according to their custom, dress them up for a wedding or a christening. They had plaited the horses' manes with ribbons, had put red nets over their ears, and adorned their heads with flowers and gold and silver paper. Louisa was very much amused by this display of rustic gallantry.

At Handsfield the Queen was received by the governor of the town in the name of the Magistrates of Breslau; and on approaching the city, she met the various guilds which had assembled to do her honour. The first troop she encountered was that of the market-gardeners in their remarkable costume; next came the butchers, and then the other tradesmen's companies, some on foot, others on horseback. After these fraternities came a procession of ninety female gardeners walking in pairs, and each holding a basket of flowers to strew before the sovereign. The young girl who was to present the poem was too nervous to come forward, but she did not escape notice. The Queen gave her an encouraging look, and held out her hand to take the paper, which she received with smiles and thanks. At Breslau all classes of people showed the warmest attachment to their King and Queen. The merchants presented the Queen with some of the

productions purely Silesian. That province is famous for its manufactories. The art of weaving is brought to great perfection there, and various articles of exquisite workmanship were presented to the Queen. The people were aware that their beloved Queen was expecting to increase her family, and expressed their satisfaction and sympathy by giving her several beautiful things fit for a Royal infant. One of these was a cradle-quilt of exquisite needle-work, on which some appropriate verses were marked, and a splendid rattle, to which were appended medals with the profiles of the King and Queen, and on the reverse side, an inscription which signified 'Resemble them.'

On the 26th of June the Queen commenced her her homeward journey, and on the fifth day she reached Charlottenburg, having travelled through the greater part of the Prussian dominions. The palace to which the Queen returned was a pleasant Royal residence, then surrounded by open country, which has since been built upon: it contained many memorials of Prussia's first Queen.* As Sophia Charlotte's descendants and their contemporaries look round on the walls of the rooms she lived in, her fine face and searching dark eyes meet them repeatedly. The philosophical turn of mind for which that Royal lady was remarkable, had secured to her the admiration of her illustrious grandson, who highly honoured her memory. When Sophia Charlotte was dying, she said to her weeping attendants: 'Do not grieve for me, I am now going where my intense curiosity will be satisfied, as to the primeval cause of those things which Leibnitz has

* See *Introductory Sketch of Prussian History*, pp. 33, 41, 46, 48.

never been able to explain to me—time—space—and eternity.'

Queen Louisa often looked thoughtfully on the portraits of her predecessors. She used to say that she respected and highly valued Sophia Charlotte's mental superiority, but did not feel attracted to her as she was to Louisa Henrietta, the wife of the Great Elector. 'Her face,' said Queen Louisa, 'seems to greet me with a heavenly smile. I look upon it until I feel that there must be a living bond of sympathy between us.'

The young Queen, basking in the full sunshine of prosperity, pondered over the troubles of that good Electress, who endured all the hardships of a cruel war—who with her little children had to flee before the enemy. 'But, oh,' said Queen Louisa, 'what must her happiness have been in finding that she could help and comfort her husband in the hours of heavy trial!'

That summer, which had been so pleasantly spent by Frederick William and Queen Louisa in making their first tour, through which we have followed them, is a memorable one in the history of Europe. Five days before the King and Queen of Prussia set out on their Royal progress, General Bonaparte embarked at Toulon, starting on his daring expedition to Egypt.

'The realization of his long-cherished hopes filled the mind of the young hero with the most enthusiastic anticipation. Seldom had a more splendid armament appeared on the ocean. It bore thirty-six thousand soldiers of all arms, and above ten thousand sailors. Before embarking, the General-in-chief, after his usual custom, addressed his troops. "Soldiers," said he, "the eyes of Europe are upon you; you have great destinies

to accomplish, battles to fight, dangers and fatigues to overcome; you are about to do more than you have yet done for the prosperity of your country, the happiness of man, and your own glory. The genius of liberty, which has rendered from its birth the Republic the arbiter of Europe, has now determined that it should become so of the seas, and of the most distant nations.'' In such magnificent mystery did this great man envelop his designs, even when on the eve of their execution.'

At length, on the 19th of May, the fleet set sail in the finest weather, amid the discharges of cannon and the acclamations of an immense crowd of inhabitants. . . . It sailed in the first instance towards Genoa, and thence to Ajaccio and Civita Castellana; and having effected a junction with the squadrons in those harbours, bore away with a fair wind for Malta. In coasting the shores of Italy, they descried the snowy summits of the Alps in the extreme distance. Napoleon gazed with intense delight at the mountains which had been the witnesses of his early achievements in 1796. 'I cannot,' said he, 'behold without emotion the land of Italy; these mountains command the plains where I have led the French to victory. Now we are bound for the East, with them victory is still secure.' His conversation was peculiarly animated during the whole voyage, every headland, every promontory recalled some glorious exploit of ancient history, and his imagination kindled with fresh fire as the fleet approached the shores of Asia, and the scenes of the greatest deeds which have made illustrious the annals of mankind.' *

* Alison's *History of Europe.*

Through the treachery of the knights of Malta and their Grand Master that island, hitherto deemed impregnable, fell an easy prey to the invaders. Having secured this important conquest, and left a sufficient garrison to maintain it for the Republic, Napoleon set sail for Egypt. The voyage was uninterrupted by any accident; and the General, enjoying the beautiful sky of the Mediterranean, remained constantly on deck, conversing with his officers on subjects of science, the age of the world, the probable mode of its destruction, the forms of religion, the decline of the Byzantine Empire. These interesting themes were often interrupted, however, by the consideration of what would occur if the fleet were to encounter the squadron of Nelson.*

That gallant British Admiral was cruising in search of the French Fleet. He had received intelligence that Malta had surrendered, and that the French were steering for Candia. He directed his course to Alexandria, and, finding no enemy there, he went northward, imagining that the expedition must be bound for the Dardanelles. On the night of the 22nd of June the French and English Fleets crossed each other's track without either party discovering their enemy. For several hours the two Fleets were within a few leagues of each other. Had Nelson sailed a little further to the left, or passed during the day, the two squadrons would have met, and an earlier battle of Aboukir might have changed the fortunes of the world.†

On the morning of the 1st of July the French discovered the shore of Egypt, stretching as far as eye

* Alison. † Ibid.

could reach from east to west. Low sand-hills, surmounted by a few scattered palms, presented little of interest to the ordinary eye; but the minarets of Alexandria, the needle of Cleopatra, and the pillar of Pompey, re-awakened those dreams of ancient grandeur and oriental conquest which had long floated in the mind of Napoleon. It was soon learned that the English Fleet had only left the roads *two days before*, and had departed for the coasts of Syria in quest of the French expedition.*

Napoleon Bonaparte landed the troops, and led his vast army through Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. His path was strewed with the dying and the dead, and illuminated by the ravaging flames of war. But Napoleon met an adversary worthy to stand against him, when he for the first time encountered an Englishman in Sir Sydney Smith. A prisoner lately escaped from the Temple in Paris became the antagonist of the conqueror, who was astonishing Europe with his achievements, and forced him to raise the siege of an inconsiderable town in the sands of Syria. 'The slightest circumstances,' says Napoleon himself, 'produce the greatest events. Had St Jean d'Acre fallen, I should have changed the face of the world. The fate of the East lay in that small town.'

Another traveller, with his heart full of noble aspirations, and his eye fixed on a high standard, at which he took deliberate aim, was making his first long journey with that view during this eventful summer. Ernst Moritz Arndt, having attained to manhood's prime, was enjoying the fulness of bodily and mental strength due to perseverance in abstemious habits.

* Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. iv., p. 175.

His character had ripened with his years—it was a thoughtful, earnest, practical character; and he had determined on going forth to see the world, that he might fairly test the opinions and plans he had formed, by comparing them with the realities of life, developed under different climates and governments.

A free-born German, untrammelled by any kind of ceremony, restrained only by the narrow compass of his pecuniary resources, Arndt set out to travel, partly on foot, partly riding, partly on the sea, to roam about for more than a year, that he might have opportunities for making his observations and reflections. He passed through Germany, stayed three months at Vienna, walked through Hungary, thence went to Italy, but the war prevented his going further south than Tuscany. He crossed to Genoa, and thence proceeded *via* Nice and Marseilles to Paris, where he spent most of the summer of 1799. A few days before Arndt left Paris, Napoleon returned from Egypt. The German patriot thus comments on the great ambitious man, whose career he watched with so much interest and anxiety. 'I had marked his rise and progress, had followed all his intrigues, his victories, his proclamations, his conquests. I felt doubtful whether I had rightly understood him. It was not till after the battle of Marengo that I shuddered before the being then idolized by so many, and by such mighty men; that shudder was but an unconscious premonition of the ten years' misery to come. But just when Germany, in consequence of her own unhappy divisions, was losing existence, my heart conceived the notion of its oneness and unity.'*

* More fully translated in *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1870.

Arndt returned home to his father's house, and shortly afterwards settled down at the University of Greifswald in Pomerania. The following spring he passed his examination creditably, and obtained permission to give lectures. His public disputations were considered very successful. In the summer of 1800 he married the daughter of one of the Greifswald Professors, a sweet young person, to whom he had been long and ardently attached. The happiness of his married life was of very short duration, for before the first anniversary of the wedding-day came round the young wife had died in giving birth to a son. Arndt felt this bereavement deeply; and it was long before he again sought to bind himself by the ties, or to surround himself with the comforts, of domestic life. Thenceforward all his energies were given to Germany. Patriotism had always been with him a ruling passion; it now became the one absorbing interest for which he lived. For many a long year he had but that one deep-seated affection, that one object which he pursued with every faculty under his command.

CHAPTER II.

QUEEN LOUISA, having completed the pleasant tour described in our last chapter, returned to one of her favourite homes, the Palace of Charlottenburg, on the 1st of July. On the 13th day of that month she gave birth to a daughter, the first of the Royal children born after the accession. The infant was baptized on the King's birthday, August 3, 1798, by the name of Frederica Louisa Charlotte. This Princess, at the age of nineteen, was married to the late Emperor Nicholas of Russia, the younger brother and successor of Alexander. She died in 1860, having attained her sixty-second year. Her eldest son, Alexander II., is the present Emperor of Russia.

Bishop Eylert, in his *Domestic Life of Frederick William III.*, tells us that when the children were young, the King used to visit the nursery every morning. Then his face brightened, even if the shades of care had over-clouded it. One by one he received the children from their mother, and kissed and fondled each, and often remained some time playing and joking with them, and speaking of the simple things which interested them, treating every little circumstance, so weighty to children, as a matter of high im-

portance. Nor was this affectation. He truly sympathized with his little ones, and entered into their pleasures and trials. The kind father seldom came home without something in his pocket for good boys and girls; but if one of them expressed a wish for any expensive luxury, he used to tell them of his own childhood, that he, at their age, received, perhaps, a pot of mignonette for a birthday present; and that when his tutor wished to reward him for good conduct, he would take him to a cherry-garden, and buy him a few groschen-worth of cherries. As the little gifts bestowed by these Royal parents on their children were of the simplest kind, so also were the presents they affectionately accepted from them. Various little fancy things are still preserved, made or ornamented by their own hands. The Crown Prince's earliest attempts at drawing indicate talent for that accomplishment.

Juvenile entertainments were occasionally given; and at these *fêtes* the King's children mixed with others, and joined in the games, dances, and various amusements. A curious story is told of one of these children's parties. Madame de Stäel's only daughter, then about nine or ten years old, was one of the guests at the Palace. The little lady was exceedingly precocious and independent, had imbibed opinions and prejudices, and was utterly devoid of respect for her superiors in rank. She was apt to be very rude in her manner and in her remarks. At this *re-union* she took offence at something which the Crown Prince said or did to her, and very coolly gave him a sharp box on the ear, upon which he ran crying to his mother, and hid his face in the folds of her dress. As Mademoiselle, when remonstrated with, was perfectly calm

and unmoved, she was not again invited, and Madame de Stäel found that she must keep her daughter at home until she had taught her better manners.*

During the early years of his reign the King often resided at Paretz, the most rural of his palaces, which he and the Queen very much enjoyed, as a change from the stately grandeur of Sans-Souci. The Royal Family with a few of their attendants usually spent most of the month of September at Paretz. Hunting, shooting, and boating were the amusements of the season. Frederick William and Louisa heartily enjoyed the beauties of nature, and when free from all restraint they took great interest in the recreations of the country people. General Von Köckeritz, in a letter to one of his friends, thus describes a harvest festival, at which he was present on a bright day early in September :—

'As soon as the Royal Family had risen from dinner, they went out to see the reapers, both men and women, who had come up near to the Castle, and grouped themselves round the harvest-garland, or rather, had formed in a semicircle round it. All in gala dress, they had marched up to the music of the village band; the women looked very gay, and the men brandished their sickles triumphantly. The harvest-garland was made of wheat-ears and other corn, and the bright flowers, which grow in corn-fields, tied with ribbons. The Royal party came out and listened kindly to the speech, which was made, not by a man, but by one of the women. Then the garland was inspected and admired. The King and Queen and their children mixed with the country people, and conversed with them, and all

* Sir George Jackson.

the ladies and gentlemen of the Court followed that example, even the *Oberhofmeisterin*, Frau Von Voss, who sees no objection to this condescension. She has naturally a good deal of humour in her character, and much kindheartiness, which is not destroyed by her devotion to etiquette. The village band struck up the music for the first dance; then the Royal and beautiful Lady forgot her grandeur, and joined in the dance with farmers' sons and daughters. "Then," says General Von Köckeritz, "I forgot my fifty-five years, and danced too;" and so did also Her Excellency, the Countess Von Voss; the King asked her to dance, and she could not decline the honour, indeed she seemed to enjoy it as much as any of us—we were all so happy. The second dance was played by the Royal musicians, the band which usually plays at the Castle while the King dines. The hautboists blown by these Potsdam Guards has as much effect on these rustics as the magic horn of Oberon.' *

At these entertainments the Queen and her ladies appeared in Court dress; the peasants felt this as a mark of respect to themselves which deeply gratified them, and the grand dresses were very much admired.

The annual fair at Paretz also took place during the harvest-time. A number of booths were then put up near the village, and besides buying and selling there was a great deal of dancing and singing going on, and all sorts of games and sports. It was then that the wheel of fortune was turned for the children's lottery. Lots of cakes and fruit were set round in order, which

* Hautboists—a wind instrument. See *Luise Königin Von Preussen*, von Friedrich Adami. Berlin, 1868.

were given away according to the movements of a pointer turned by the wheel. Queen Louisa encouraged the children to crowd round her on these occasions; she could not bear to see them afraid of her, and she placed herself beside the wheel to secure fair play, and to watch carefully that she might make some amends for the unkindness of fortune. She had her ample store of good things, which she dispensed among the unlucky children, many of whom thought more of the sweet words and looks of the Queen than of anything else she could give them. Moreover, she was glad to have a chance of leading even one of her little subjects to be generous and self-denying; and while she liked to see all happy, she at the same time interested herself in them individually.

Yes—and in a far higher sense Queen Louisa watched beside the wheel of fortune. For there is a tremendous wheel which no power on earth can stop or regulate; which not only dispenses its prizes and its blanks unfairly, but also in its own unmanageable strength crushes down praiseworthy aspirations and well-directed endeavours: crushes down much which ought to live to counteract the overwhelming power of sin and sorrow. It crushes the courage out of noble hearts, making them feel as if they were in a lonesome wilderness, lost, not in a desert, but in a crowd, abandoned to be the prey of reckless despair.—Where should a queen be, but watching by the wheel?

All her life long Queen Louisa thus overlooked the wide circle of which she was the centre, earnestly seeking for individuals whom haply she might rescue from the ruin, debasement, and misery wrought in the great lottery of aggregate life.

The Queen was once asked whether she did not find it very dull at Paretz.

'Oh no,' she replied; 'I find it uncommonly pleasant to be the Lady Bountiful of Paretz!' The King used jestingly to call himself the *Schulze*, county magistrate or squire of Paretz; and he delighted in the duties of that position. In this quiet home their little children could be constantly under the parental eye, their amusements and their first studies could be directed by parental care, and their opening hearts and minds guided by parental love. Every night before they retired to rest the King and Queen went together to look on their sleeping children, and gently to press a kiss on each little forehead.

Perhaps it was well for those children that their parents, though both so excellent, and so firmly united by one faith, and by the holy bond of strong conjugal attachment, were nevertheless of very different dispositions. The King was silent and grave, though gifted with a touch of humour—the Queen was gay and demonstrative, naturally light-hearted. He was contemplative, she was full of vivacity. He was irresolute; his over-anxious temperament made him slow at arriving at a final conclusion, and laid him open to being sadly harassed by ministers and advisers quicker and less scrupulous than himself. The Queen, on the contrary, was both clear and far-sighted, and full of energy to act immediately on what she saw. In short, as Bishop Eylert observes, the one character was the complement of the other; and these differences united them the more closely, rendering the union more happy and complete. The rare quality of Queen Louisa's mind arose out of the combination of two characteristics

which seldom co-exist. She was, as we have seen, very impulsive, yet at the same time her reflective faculties were strong; her thoughts were deep though very simple; and both her impulses and reflections were under the control of definite religious principles.

At all their country residences the intimate circle around the Royal Family was made up of friends rather than of courtiers. The Queen had a happy way of putting everybody at their ease. She was always considerate towards elderly people, and bestowed marked attention on those whom the King valued as trustworthy counsellors and congenial associates: she made them feel that she regarded them especially as her husband's friends.

General Von Köckeritz was very frequently a guest at the Royal table, and was treated quite as a member of the family. The Queen observed that the General had for some time past retired earlier than he had formerly been accustomed to do. She missed him from the circle, and remarked on his absence to the King. 'Leave the old man alone; he must have his comforts after dinner,' replied the King.

The Queen watched and inquired, and found out that a pipe was the attraction. On the following day she left the room before the General began to make his usual apologies, excusing himself from remaining longer. Having quietly escaped unnoticed, Louisa with mirthful alacrity executed her little scheme. As the old veteran was leaving the room he met the graceful Queen entering with a filled pipe in one hand, and a pipe lighter and taper in the other.

'Ah, my good old friend!' she said, laughing merrily, 'I have caught you: you cannot escape now, you must

smoke this pipe here with us this evening.' The King, pleased and highly amused, exclaimed, 'You have managed that capitally, my Louisa; the General will sit down with us again.' This pressing invitation was not declined by the brave old soldier, and afterwards he not unfrequently availed himself of the privilege thus graciously bestowed. Queen Louisa was wonderfully gifted with warmth of feeling and quickness of wit, which inspired her to say and do just the right thing at the right instant. It was natural to her to act on the impulse of the moment, and her excellent disposition and high position rendered this trait of character very attractive and endearing. Her thoughts seemed never to be engrossed with self, but always on the wing joyously seeking and seizing every little opportunity of doing good or giving pleasure to others. Once when she was travelling in Pomerania she fell in with the wife of an agricultural labourer, with whom she had some conversation on rural affairs. The Queen admired the good sense and intelligence of the peasant, and was grateful to her for the information she had imparted. On taking leave she drew a valuable pin from her own dress, and gave it to the astonished woman, bidding her keep it in memory of the meeting.

The Queen and Frau Rath Goethe one day got into a long discussion on German literature. The pleasure which Louisa had from her girlhood derived from Goethe's works, especially from his simple poems, deepened the interest she felt in maintaining this conversation with his mother. Yielding to the sentiment of the moment, the Queen unclasped her gold necklace and gave it to the poet's mother, as a tribute to the power of genius; and at the same time a memorial of

an hour agreeably spent, and worthy to be remembered.

Frau Rath was very proud of this necklace, and wore it on rare occasions. One evening, observing that the brilliant ornament had attracted Madame de Stäel's attention, she said with characteristic *naïveté*, 'Oui, je suis la mère de Goethe."

Although Queen Louisa preferred the simple pleasures of the country, yet she was not insensible to those which society affords. The Prussian Court lost much of its stiffness, but none of its brilliancy, under her auspices. On the contrary, the carnival of 1799 was pronounced to be the most splendid ever seen at Berlin. On the 13th of March in that year a grand masquerade took place at the Opera-house. It appears to have been a kind of play representing the marriage of the English Queen Mary with Philip of Spain. Queen Louisa performed the part of the Royal bride, and the Duke of Sussex took the part of the bridegroom. Those two Royal personages danced a minuet; after which followed a quadrille between Queen Elizabeth, Don John of Austria, Margaret of Parma, and the Duke of Savoy. About fifty couples appeared in various costumes, chiefly English, Spanish, Italian, and Mexican. The dresses were most gorgeous, all glittering with diamonds and precious stones; the Duke of Sussex having ransacked all the jewellers' shops for the occasion. He and his brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, were often at the Prussian Court. These handsome gallant princes seem to have had great regard for their amiable and fascinating cousins Louisa and Frederica. The two closely-related Royal Families having grown up contemporaneously, the cousins were of corresponding ages. 'Queen

Louisa,' as Vehse remarks, 'was one of those women who are equally pleasing to the one sex as to the other.'

Although the Minuet de la Cour was still fashionable, more lively dances were preferred by young people. The Queen was very fond of dancing, the exercise suited her bright, quick, elastic spirit. Beautiful and graceful, she shone in the dance without making any effort to do so. The dancing parties which she instituted gave great pleasure to a large number of the younger members of the Court circle, and they led to other *réunions*, perfectly unceremonious social meetings for the purpose of practising new dances under the direction of a dancing-master. These rehearsals, which usually took place in the morning, were very free and merry meetings, and tended to increase the Queen's popularity. She was almost idolized by a large majority at the Court of Berlin. Nevertheless, there was a party, not a numerous one however, which stood aloof from her—the strictly military party. There were old officers who did not like to see the Court of Prussia so very different to what it was in the days of Frederick the Great. These stern old soldiers had lived through a period in which women, even those of the highest rank and of blameless character, were not respected. They now saw a young Queen strongly influencing her husband, yet with no political purpose and no premeditated designs; but she was altogether changing the manners of the Court. They openly expressed their disapprobation, and their opinions spread among some of the younger men. To this party belonged the afterwards celebrated Field-Marshal York, at that time a Colonel of light-infantry. Droysen in his biography says of him:—

'York was pleased not to join in the general admiration, finding the Queen's hands too large, and her feet not well made. He was annoyed that the King should by her side be placed in the shade; and he believed her to exercise an influence which he deplored on the Court and on the conduct of affairs. The old stern military character of the Court was certainly fast vanishing, as he thought, through her agency.'

The Queen always liked General Blücher, and often honoured him with her hand at the State Balls, because he excelled in dancing, which in those days was an accomplishment not easily brought to perfection: Her Majesty may also have had other reasons for thinking him an agreeable partner.

'There were corrupted minds and withered hearts which could find no enjoyment in innocent gaieties. In the Court and in the Capital were many people who had made epicurean enjoyment a real study. "Berlin has become the dullest Court," they said. "One day is just like the other; it is enough to kill one with ennui."

'According to the opinion of these people, the King and Queen ought to have surrounded themselves with pomp, to have kept up a continually brilliant Court, with plenty of jokes, intrigues, and scandal.' *

The Queen had too much discernment to remain ignorant of the existence of a party who looked on her unfavourably, and misconstrued her words and actions. She was too generous to harbour a malicious thought, but it was scarcely possible to avoid a little occasional clashing, as she had so many devoted adherents who

* *Memoirs of the Court of Prussia.* From the German, by Dr Edward Vehse. By Franz C. F. Demler.

were proud to display a chivalrous kind of attachment to her. She felt obliged to do the honours at Court, because the King very much disliked pomp, which was entirely at variance with the whole bent of his mind: he was naturally laconic, speaking in abrupt pithy sentences, containing no more words than were necessary to convey his meaning. Louisa, gifted with all the dignity and high bearing looked for in a queen, was able to render the King most acceptable assistance.*

Novalis thus wrote from his own personal observation: 'The Queen has no political circle or position, but her household is a great institution, her example will do a great deal: as regards dress, she is a model; and the Court is an example to the nation from the highest to the lowest class of society. The *hause-frau* is the ruler of the house, so is the Queen the ruler of the Court. In former days prudent parents were afraid to bring their daughters to Court, they thought it safer to keep them away from its temptations; and a young man seeking a good wife avoided ladies who had been brought up near the throne, but now he cannot do better than to take one from the hands of the Queen.'

On the 25th of May, 1799, the King started from Potsdam to make a tour in an opposite direction from that which he had taken the year before. The Queen again accompanied him. They made a short stay at Magdeburg, and thence proceeded through Westphalia and on to the Rhine. Everywhere they were received with enthusiastic loyalty.

Westphalia is an interesting province, being inhabited by a race of people who maintain their own

* *Court of Prussia.*

primitive customs and are high-minded. They are neither peasants nor farmers such as we now see in England, but free land-holders, who have lived on the soil for centuries, and who cherish as much family pride as any lord of the land—a pride which is characterized by extraordinary independence. The Westphalian seems to come nearer to the Kentish yeoman of the olden time than any other living example which can be instanced; for in him the features of character which distinguish the great Teutonic family are very strongly marked.*

On their homeward route the King and Queen repeatedly diverged to visit different members of their families, at Cassel, Hildburghausen, Anspach, Weimar, and Dessau. The Princess Frederica (Louisa's sister) was residing at Anspach. She had very lately married Prince Frederick of Solms-Braunfels, who had been much at Court during the previous winter, as he was in garrison at Berlin.

On the 25th of June the King and Queen arrived at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where they spent some days. The pleasure of this brief sojourn there was, as the Queen acknowledged, very much enhanced by the delightful associations connected with the first meeting between her husband and herself.

Having been captured by the French, the old Free-town had suffered considerably during the war. The inhabitants had been cruelly burdened, and some of them quite impoverished by oppressive taxes, and the expenses of giving quarter to the soldiers.

Frau Rath Goethe had had such heavy losses that she

* See *Queen Bertha and Her Times*, chapter ii., 'The Origin of the Saxons, and the Conquests of Kent.' Published by William Tegg.

had deemed it prudent to sell her large house in the *Grosser Hirschgraben*, and to occupy a smaller residence in the *Rossmarkt*. Although her temperament was so quick and warm, she bore vexations with great equanimity, still looking on the bright side of life and of human nature. Her letters show that her objects of interest were as simple and as numerous, and her feelings as sensitive and tender, as ever, and that she retained her cheerfulness as she advanced in years. The being no longer able to exercise that unbounded liberality and hospitality congenial with her disposition must have been a great privation to her.

In a letter dated July 20, 1799, Frau Rath thus describes the King and Queen's visit to Frankfort: 'Their Majesties have been with us at Frankfort, and we have done what we could to welcome them. I had a very unexpected honour. The Queen sent her brother to me with a kind invitation. The Prince came in the afternoon, and he sat down and dined with me at my small table. At six o'clock we went in his carriage, with two footmen behind us, to the Palace of Tour and Taxis. The Queen received me with a friendly welcome, and talked of old times, and of the pleasure I gave her in my old house.'*

On the 8th of July the good citizens of Berlin welcomed back their King and Queen, and the Royal pair thankfully resumed their regular routine life of duties and pleasures.

During the late tour, the Queen's attention had frequently been directed to works of art, she now therefore began to take more interest than she had hitherto

* *Briefwechsel von Frau Rath Goethe.* Robert Keil. Leipzig, 1871.

done in the various branches of useful and ornamental art. She was one who could not look on that which was serviceable or beautiful without bestowing a thought on the head and hand which had produced it. Thus was she led to inquire and to reflect, and to see that much more rapid progress might be made if there were not so much talent and industry wasted, so much spirit and energy crushed out, because many a gifted person lacks the means and opportunities for bringing out his talents. Even in Queen Louisa's time, the industry and patience of a long course of years might be altogether unavailing, for want of the needful assistance. The Queen became a liberal patroness of Art, she did her utmost to stimulate the artists to further exertion by offering them honourable distinctions, she gave help to those who were richer in talent than in money, and encouraged them by every means in her power.

Her sensitive heart was sometimes saddened by the consciousness that a multitude of deserving individuals needing such help must for ever remain unknown, unfound by her, but this thought did but make her more earnestly desirous to do all that could be done.

A similar feeling actuated both the King and Queen with respect to every branch of charity; they were not satisfied by helping to support excellent institutions, they sought out particular cases of distress. At the same time their palaces were open to statesmen, military men, distinguished professors, artists, and authors. The famous Dr Gall, and other *savants*, were frequently honoured by invitations. The Queen's natural capacity and high cultivation of mind enabled her to take pleasure in such society, although she was entirely free from all affectation of pedantry; she held

modest views of her own abilities and opinions, and sought to improve her own mind by bringing out the minds of others. Her conversation as well as her whole behaviour was gently but cleverly guided with that feminine tact which never failed her, because it sprang from an ever-present desire to avoid giving the slightest pain or annoyance to others. She was always ready to talk with any one, always perfectly at her ease, and her lively genial manner was all the more winning because she seemed quite unconscious that she was attracting admiration—indeed, it was not admiration that she cared for, her heart was drawn to the hearts of others by a purer desire, therefore the poor, the ignorant, and the young, found her quite as pleasant as did the most distinguished persons who shone in the circle round the throne.

Queen Louisa, attended by a lady-in-waiting, was one day walking in the streets of Charlottenburg; a number of boys were running and tumbling, playing somewhat rudely, and one of them ran up against the Queen. Her lady reproved him sharply, and the little fellow looked frightened and abashed. The Queen patted his rosy cheek, saying, 'Boys will be a little wild; never mind, my dear boy, I am not angry.' She then asked his name, and bade him give her compliments to his mother. The child knew that it was the Queen who was speaking to him, for she was well known throughout Berlin and Charlottenburg. She had as much consideration for the aged as for the young. To a friendly note of invitation which she wrote to Scheffner, the venerable Councillor of War, she added this postscript: 'Pray wear your boots, and do not come in thin stockings, I am sure they cannot be good for you; and as

you know I am fond of old friends, so I like to take care of them.'

On the 13th of October, A.D. 1799, the Royal Family was increased by the birth of the fifth child, a daughter; but in the following year this princess died of whooping cough. Short though her span of life had been, her death was deeply felt by her parents.

While this domestic affliction was pressing upon them, the King appeared to be much harassed by the state of public affairs. When he was in an anxious frame of mind, he would walk up and down with a quick, regular step, his hands clasped behind him, sometimes stopping for several minutes as if in deep thought, arguing out some difficult question with himself. At other times, shunning all companionship, he would stroll in the private grounds, or sit on a bench in a calm contemplative mood, but looking sad, as if the shadows of some coming trouble were passing over him, or some disturbing recollections haunted him. He had not forgotten his last conversation with Frederick the Great; doubtless it occasionally recurred to his mind when the aspect of affairs became dark and threatening. Many years afterwards he related it vividly and circumstantially to Bishop Eylert.

With the most delicate *prévoyance,* so long as it was possible to keep from her the knowledge of any painful occurrence, the King endeavoured to save the Queen from the anxiety and vexations which oppressed him. The Queen was so perfectly aware of this that she could never enjoy anything unless the King seemed to enter into her pleasure. She watched his every look, and felt anxious if she saw a shade of care on his countenance. She always wore his portrait in miniature; but

once, though she did not like parting with it, she lent it to the editor of a popular periodical, who wished to place at the head of a number a likeness of the sovereign. And as Queen Louisa wore her husband's likeness, thus also did the King wear hers on his breast. After his death, the medallion was found concealed under cover of his Order of the Black Eagle. When the case was opened, the tender secret of his quiet remembrance of the beloved departed one was disclosed.

The Queen assuredly had great influence over her husband. It could not possibly be otherwise, their mutual attachment being so real and so warm, and her mental capacity being of a character which enabled her to think as well as to feel with him. But she avoided interfering in politics. The King was very sensitive as to his prerogative, of which she was fully aware, and he would not have esteemed her as he did had she taken any artful means to influence him, or to over-rule his judgment. The Queen so well understood this, that when she was requested to speak to him on matters connected with the State, or to prefer a request to him, she would say, 'With him there is no need for taking indirect means to obtain what is just and right.'

The Castle on Peacock Island was the most secluded of all the Royal residences, as the river separated it from the busy world, and the King had converted the whole island into a park. Near Potsdam the Havel divides into branches, and swells into lakes, which give charming variety to the woodland and park scenery around. The landscape is dotted here and there with a village round its church-tower, nestling among the trees, or spreading its cottages along the

water's side. It is quite lake-scenery on a small scale, but more lively, as the clear, blue river is navigable, not only for sailing boats, but also for timber-barges and rafts. Beyond Brandenburg the Havel is connected by a canal with the Elbe, so a good deal of timber comes down to Potsdam. Centuries ago Peacock Island was very thickly wooded, and inhabited only by wild deer and other animals, and the huntsmen and keepers who lived there to pursue the chase. It is still remarkable for its fine trees, many of which number three or four hundred years. Frederick William II. cleared the island, laid out corn-fields and meadows, planted orchards and gardens, and built the small castle, the farm-house, and some other dwellings, which were first occupied by his unworthy favourites.

The half-hour's drive from the town to the shore opposite Peacock Island is delightful. The small Château was built like a ruined Roman villa, a square house between two circular towers. One of the towers only is surmounted by a greenish copper cupola. This want of uniformity helps to give the effect of a ruin, and is consistent with the jagged top of the house-wall. The parapets of the two round towers are connected by a bridge in the air, which has a curious effect. The house is only two stories high; from the upper floor a spiral stair-case leads to the turret, whence a fine prospect is obtained, especially by standing on the bridge, which connects the tops of the towers. The broad, clear blue Havel looks like a series of lakes screened by wooded promontories, and the peninsula of Medehorn, which is almost an island. In the distance, part of Potsdam is indistinctly seen,

with one of its church-steeples. The rooms in the Château are very small, and simply-fitted up, with the exception of the drawing-room, which is larger and tastefully decorated; Guido's Aurora is painted on the ceiling, and the floor is of inlaid wood. An extensive lawn spreads out immediately in front of the Castle, on which stand groups of very old trees—yews, pines, and larches; but the oaks are most numerous, and some of them are magnificent. The flower-beds lie beyond the lawn, and not far from the Château there is a Palm-house, filled with very fine plants, chiefly from South America and the Cape of Good Hope. The further end of the island was a fertile farm, on which were buildings erected in the style of Gothic ruins. All the grounds were laid out with taste, fields, meadows, and gardens blending pleasantly; but it was evident that grandeur was not to reign here, there was enough of that at Berlin, Sans-Souci, and Potsdam. Here peacefulness and comfort were to have sway.

Before the Zoological Gardens were instituted near Berlin there was a menagerie on Peacock Island. The tame lion, which became quiet as a lamb when soft music was played to him, was an object of great interest to the public, who were admitted into the grounds when the Royal Family were absent. The King and Queen took more pleasure in doves and pigeons, of which they collected many varieties. To this day the paths across the island in various directions are named after the animals, to whose abodes they led. Very fine peacocks are still to be seen, generally in pairs, enjoying liberty in all parts of the island in their own ostentatious style; and pheasants are also preserved.

Bishop Eylert, who was often invited to join the Royal Family circle on Peacock Island, has given us some vivid pictures of the life led there by the good King and Queen, and their fine growing children. He says:—

'Fatigued and often vexed by the circumstances of the day, the King would hurry home to Peacock Island, to spend there the rest of the day with his family. As soon as he had seated himself in the ferry-boat he would throw open his military coat, as if to give himself freedom, and room to breathe pure air. Landed, he slowly paced on with his hands crossed behind him. Arrived at the Palace, he immediately went to his dressing-room and changed his dress, and by the time he came out his countenance had usually resumed its natural tranquillity. After passing some hours in his cabinet, reading documents prepared for his inspection, making marginal notes of interrogation or remark with his pencil, or notes containing the heads of answers to be given, he sought the fresh air; and then one must have seen him to be aware how a heavily-burdened monarch may be a happy man if he be of pure and noble mind.

'With military step he paced the island in its length and breadth, generally with a book in his hand, but often stopping to contemplate the landscape, leaning against a tree, or sitting on a rustic seat, or observing a bed of flowers, conversing with the shepherd or the gardener, or amusing himself with the children passing by. Here the King spent portions of many happy years with his amiable wife before the blight of evil times overtook them. They were very indulgent to their children. The Queen liked to have her little

ones with her whenever she could do so without troubling others; she never checked them hastily or capriciously; she disliked caprice, and corrected every symptom of it in her children. She wished them to grow up free and unconstrained, but at the same time she endeavoured to inculcate firm ruling principles.'

The Bishop describes one quiet afternoon, when, after having dined with the King and Queen, he sat with them under the shade of some spreading trees. 'The Queen asked, "Where are the children?" On being told that they were playing in the meadow which projects into the Havel, she said, "Cannot we surprise them?" It was agreed on; we all three got into a small pleasure-boat, the King took the oars, the Queen stood up to catch the first glimpse of her darlings. They were as much astonished and delighted as she could desire. "Papa, how did you get here?" exclaimed the Crown Prince. "Through the reeds and rushes," was the reply. "Indeed!" said the boy; and he laughingly quoted a popular proverb: "Amongst reeds is good whistle-cutting." "And what do you understand by that proverb?" asked the King. "It means," replied the Prince, "that wise people know how to take advantage of circumstances." "And if you were among the reeds at this moment, what sort of whistle would you cut?" "Well, if I might have a wish just now, I would wish that we could all take our tea here together on the grass." The desire, thus mirthfully expressed, was gratified, and we all enjoyed that social meal. It was a sweet, calm summer's evening, enlivened by the voices of the lively children, by the sounds of rural life, and by

bursts of distant music when the band of the Guards was playing.

'The Queen looked up at the setting sun with a heavenly expression: she seemed to be lifting up her heart in silent prayer and thanksgiving. At that moment the sun lighted up her sweet face, making it gloriously beautiful. All the portraits that I have ever seen of her, give but a faint idea of the angelic look which sometimes came over her countenance.'

Two English travellers who visited Peacock Island related a delightful adventure which there occurred to them. The gentlemen were not aware that strangers were never admitted into the park and grounds when the King and Queen were on the island. One bright summer's morning they rowed over from Potsdam in a small boat, landed, and were strolling towards the Castle, when they were met by the Court Chamberlain, who informed them that he could not allow them to proceed, as the grounds were not open to the public. Much disappointed, they were returning to their boat, when they met a lady and gentleman very plainly dressed. The gentleman spoke to them, making some casual remark on the scenery. Thereupon one of the visitors told him of their mistake and disappointment. 'Ah!' replied the gentleman, 'that was M. Von Massow. I know him well; and if you like to walk round the island I will excuse you to him.'

'You had better come with us,' said the lady, 'for you are strangers here, and we can show you everything worth looking at.'

This invitation, so simply and cheerfully given, was seconded by her companion, and thankfully accepted by the English travellers. They enjoyed a charming

walk, conversing freely by the way, and stopping to observe the views obtained from different points. They talked of England, the lady spoke enthusiastically of that country, and her sweet face and manner gave the full meaning of all she said. When the party approached the Castle the Chamberlain came out to announce that breakfast was ready, and then the gentlemen discovered that they were in the presence of the King and Queen of Prussia. The King immediately put them at ease by courteously expressing pleasure at having made their acquaintance. 'We have had a very pleasant walk this fine morning,' said he, 'and now we shall enjoy some refreshment; you must breakfast with us before you return to Potsdam.'

During the summer months this small country palace was often so full of visitors, that many members of the King's household slept under tents pitched near the Castle. The young Princes and their tutor were often sent to a somewhat curious house, which had been removed from Dantzic, hence called Dantzic House, and placed on the island. There is a tradition that this old German building has been twice removed, that it originally stood at Nurnberg. It is also called the Cavaliers' House, as it was sometimes used for lodging the knights and nobles when the Court was on the island.'

CHAPTER III.

WHEN Nelson destroyed the French Fleet at the mouth of the Nile, Great Britain was the only one of the first-rate Powers of Europe which was vigorously maintaining hostilities with France. The others had been so far subdued by the military genius and domineering spirit of Napoleon that they dared not openly break the hollow peace to which they had been forced to consent.

'The cannon of Nelson,' says Sir Archibald Alison, 're-echoed from one end of Europe to the other, and everywhere revived the spirit of resistance to the ambition of the Republic. That signal and complete defeat not only destroyed the charm of her invincibility, but relieved the allies from the dread arising from the military talents of Napoleon. The allied sovereigns upon this auspicious event determined to engage in open preparations for the resumption of hostilities.

Austria felt that the moment was approaching when she might regain her lost provinces, restore her fallen influence, and oppose a barrier to the revolutionary torrent which was overwhelming Italy. The Emperor of Russia at length engaged warmly in the common cause, and he seemed desirous not only to send his

armies to the support of the Germanic States, but also to guarantee the integrity of their confederation.

Turkey forgot its ancient enmity to Russia in its animosity against France for the unprovoked attack upon Egypt; and its fleets and armies threatened to enclose the conqueror of the pyramids in the kingdom he had won.

On the 29th of December, 1798, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, for the purpose of putting a stop to the further encroachments of France. The Emperor Paul, with all the vehemence of his character, immediately entered into the prosecution of the war. He gave an asylum to Louis XVIII., and behaved munificently to the French emigrants who sought refuge in his dominions, and by every means in his power he excited the spirit of resistance to the advances of republican ambition. All his efforts, however, failed in inducing the Prussian Cabinet to swerve from the cautious policy it had adopted ever since the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the neutrality it had observed since the Treaty of Bâle. That Power stood by in apparent indifference, while a desperate strife was raging between the hostile Powers, in which her own independence was at stake, when her army, now 200,000 strong, might have interfered with decisive effect in the struggle.*

Subsequent events but too clearly proved that this forbearance on the part of Prussia was mistaken policy.

The Cabinet of Berlin, always wavering between Russia and France, entirely misapprehended the fact

* Abridged from *History of Europe*, by Sir Archibald Alison. Ninth edition, vol. iv. pp. 217, 218.

that a third-rate Power may with advantage and honour thus place itself between two powerful neighbours; but such conduct is highly to be condemned in a Power of the first rank, which can never keep its place but by consistently following out a firm and independent policy. The Prussian Cabinet by its vacillating policy forfeited the respect of public opinion. The King himself, on the other hand, was ever animated by a sense of honour and truthfulness; but unhappily he trusted to Haugwitz, his father's favourite Minister, to whose defects he ought not to have been blind.

Prince Louis Ferdinand, the King's cousin, was more far-sighted. He saw only too clearly the imminent danger into which the Cabinet was driving the State; and when the King one day rebuked him for his 'intemperate lust of war,' he answered, 'From love of peace Prussia assumes a hostile position towards every other power; and thus she will some time or other be mercilessly overthrown by any one of them to which it may be just convenient to make war on her. Then we shall fall without help, and probably also without honour.' *

This Prince Louis Ferdinand was the son of Prince Ferdinand, Frederick the Great's youngest brother, and born in 1772. He was uncommonly gifted by nature, but lacked a fair field on which to exercise his eminent talents. His warm temperament therefore led him into that gay rollicking life which earned for him the name of the Prussian Alcibiades. He was as brave and dauntless as Frederick the Great, and as fond of literary pursuits, for which he had more capacity than

* *Memoirs of the Court of Prussia.* From the German of Dr Edward Vehse. By Franz C. F. Demmler, p. 401.

his uncle possessed. His character was quite the opposite of that of Frederick William III., his private life and his tastes were different, therefore it is not surprising that he had no influence over that monarch. He was exceedingly popular with all classes, especially with the army, and, the Queen excepted, he was the brightest ornament of the Prussian Court. Prince Louis Ferdinand, being such a thorough soldier, could not understand the King's pacific disposition. Frederick William dreaded, not only the horrors of war to which his people might be exposed, but also the heavy expenses of a protracted struggle, for which he was unprepared. Not three years ago, on ascending the throne, he had found the treasury in a fearfully exhausted state, and only by the continual exercise of strict economy could he hope to clear off the enormous amount of debt incurred during the previous reign. Nevertheless, these considerations, affecting Prussia alone, should have given way to the more weighty general interests of Europe. The King, however, persisted in refusing to join the coalition of 1798. Tired of the oft-repeated solicitations of Russia, he is said to have exclaimed, 'I will be, and will remain neutral; and if Paul compels me to go to war, it shall only be against himself.'*

Though in the spring of 1799 France was again at war with Austria, yet she was still at peace with the German Empire. The Emperor Francis, as a neutral potentate, was still conducting negotiations for a general peace; but towards the end of April the long-protracted labours of the Congress of Rastadt were abruptly brought to a conclusion, the communications of the Ministers having been interrupted by the

* *Court of Prussia.*

Austrian patrols. The Republicans addressed a strong remonstrance to the Austrian authorities, and this remonstrance being disregarded, the Congress declared itself dissolved. The fact was, that the parties lately negotiating for peace were now thinking of war, they were emboldened by knowing that the flag of the French Republic had been swept off the ocean; they felt also the moral effect of Nelson's victory; and, moreover, they were encouraged by Napoleon's continued absence in Egypt.

A general war again burst forth; its violence and bitterness was a hundredfold increased in consequence of an atrocious conspiracy against the life of the French delegates. On the day when these gentlemen left Rastadt for Strasbourg, before they had proceeded far on their journey they were attacked in a wood; two of them were mortally, and one severely, wounded. The murder was said to have been committed by two drunken hussars, but they were never discovered and brought to justice. This iniquitous violation of the law of nations excited the utmost indignation throughout Europe. The Germans declared their innocence, and expressed their deep regret and their detestation of the perpetrators of this horrible crime. It is perhaps the strongest proof of the high character and unstained honour of the Emperor Francis and the Archduke Charles that no suspicion fell on either of them, although the crime must have been committed for political purposes, and not by common robbers.*

This event did much service to the cause of the French Republic. The military spirit of the French people, which had languished since the recommence-

* Alison.

ment of hostilities, was immediately roused to the highest pitch by this outrage on their ambassadors. No difficulty was any longer experienced in completing the levies of the conscription; and to this burst of national feeling is in a great measure to be ascribed the rapid augmentation of the army, and the subsequent disasters which overwhelmed the Imperialists at the conclusion of the campaign.*

While the evil passion of revenge was fanning the flames of war, as it burst out afresh to the north of the Alps, the armies of the Republic met with serious reverses on the plains of Italy. The Russians, under Marshal Suwarroff, and the Austrians, led by a brave Hungarian hero, General Kray, gained important victories. The French fell from one disaster into another, till they were driven back over the Maritime Alps, and expelled from the whole peninsula. They also lost their last footing in the Ionian Islands, when Corfu surrendered to the combined forces of Russia and Turkey. The Republic was, in truth, within a hair's-breadth of destruction. Since the year 1793 it had not been in such imminent danger. Before the battle of Valmy changed the state of affairs, the allies were nearer to the frontier of France, and the interior of that country was torn by more vehement dissensions; but, on the other hand, the attacking Powers in 1799 were incomparably more formidable, and the armies they brought into the field greatly superior, both in military prowess and moral vigour. The strongest passions had been roused on both sides, and battles were not lost or won without a desperate effusion of human blood. The military ardour of the Austrians

* Alison.

was now thoroughly awakened from the reverses the Monarchy had undergone, and the imminent perils to which it had been exposed. The steady valour of the Russians had been roused to the highest pitch by the ardent genius and enthusiastic courage of Suwarroff. From the Bay of Genoa to the mouth of the Rhine, nearly 300,000 veteran troops were advancing against the Republic, flushed by victory, and conducted by consummate military talent; while the Revolution had destroyed the capacity which directed, as well as wore out the energy which sustained, its fortunes. An exhausted nation and a dispirited army had to withstand the weight of Austria and the vigour of Russia, guided by the science of the Archduke Charles, and the energy of Suwarroff.*

But the mighty warrior, who was gifted with military talent to deliver France out of the hands of her enemies, quickly turned the scale of fortune.

When Napoleon Bonaparte received the disastrous news from Europe, he immediately determined on leaving Egypt secretly. Having hastily drawn up minute directions for Kleber, to whom he intrusted the command of the army, he returned to Alexandria and embarked from an unfrequented part of the beach near that town. On the 8th of October he landed in the Bay of Frejus, and without delay proceeded to Paris.

The people everywhere greeted the Conqueror of the East with the most enthusiastic welcome.

It was high time that some military leader of commanding talents should seize the helm to save the sinking Republic. Never since the commencement of the

* Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 261.

war had its prospects been so gloomy, both from external disaster and internal oppression. A contemporary republican writer of no common talent drew a terrible but truthful description of the internal state of France at that period. Merit was generally persecuted, all men of honour were chased from public situations, robbers were everywhere assembled in their infernal caverns, spoliation was established under the name of forced loans; assassinations were preconcerted, thousands of victims already marked out; the signal for pillage, murder, and conflagration anxiously looked for, couched in the words 'the country is in danger.' The same cries, the same shouts were heard in the clubs as in 1793, the same executioner, the same victims. The citizens had no security for their lives or their liberty; the State had none for its finances. Notwithstanding her late brilliant conquests, France was still in a state of anarchy. Her long-protracted Revolution had now run through the usual course of universal enthusiasm, general suffering, plebeian revolt, bloodthirsty rage, democratic cruelty, and military despotism. There remained a last stage to which it had not yet arrived, but which nevertheless was necessary to tame the passions of the people, and reconstruct the fabric of society out of the ruined fragments of former civilization. This stage was that of a *single despot*, and this final result was rapidly coming on, to prepare the way for a return to a more stable order of things.*

The last, but not the least important event of the eighteenth century, was the elevation of Napoleon Bonaparte to the dignity of Chief Consul. The new

* Abridged from *History of Europe*, by Sir Archibald Alison. Ninth edition, vol. iv. pp. 312, 313.

Constitution of France was proclaimed on the 24th of December, A.D. 1799.

The King and Queen of Prussia had spent a considerable portion of this and of the preceding year in making journeys through the provinces. They sometimes penetrated into the most secluded and the wildest districts. Ernest Arndt was not more desirous nor more determined than they were to become acquainted as fully as possible with all classes of persons, by seeking them in their own homes, and observing their ways and customs. The Queen, always alive to the beauties of nature, was never in higher spirits than when she made these excursions: she was delighted to take a pic-nic meal under forest trees, and watched the preparations with almost childish glee. She used to say, 'The children's world is my world.' Surely therein lies the secret of her own children's deathless love for her. One day as the King and Queen were entering a town, a band of young girls came forward to strew flowers, and to present a nosegay. Her Majesty inquired how many little girls there were. 'Nineteen,' replied the artless child, 'there would have been twenty of us, but one was sent home because she was too ugly.' The kind Queen, feeling for the disappointed one, requested that she might be immediately sent for, and allowed to participate in all the festivities of the day.

When they entered the little towns and villages they were received with loud acclamations. The King greeted his people with a serious but benevolent countenance; though tired at last, he would sit back quietly in the carriage, and say, 'Now, Louisa, you must salute them for me, and you can do it better than I.' She would reply, 'Only look at the good people with their eyes

full of honest affection.' Her heart was too much occupied with emotions of gratitude on these occasions for her to feel fatigue.*

On the 14th of August, A.D. 1800, the King set off to review the troops in Silesia, and the Queen accompanied him. They ascended the Riesen-Koppe (or Giant's Hill) and the Kynast. The old castle on the Kynast was illuminated for the occasion, and on the following day the Royal party looked over the ruins.

The Count of Hochberg got up a tournament in his Gothic Castle of Furstenstein, to celebrate Their Majesties' visit to this part of Silesia. It was a real tournament; the knights clad in shining armour tilted with long lances. Heralds, squires, trumpeters, and standard-bearers also appeared in their distinctive costumes of the Middle Ages—about the time of Maximilian I.,—the Imperial knight-errant who gloried in romantic exploits, and loved to be the first knight on the list and the first hunter in the field. The Count of Hochberg's moated castle, with its drawbridge and portcullis, and the wild woods which it looked down upon, was altogether quite in keeping with this reminiscence of the days of chivalry. The tilting matches were conducted with great order, in strict accordance with ancient customs, and much tact and skill were displayed by the combatants. Queen Louisa invested the successful knights with the tokens of victory, and with lively grace she received the homage offered to her in the devoted style of the days of romance.

On the 18th of August Their Majesties ascended the Schnee Koppe. The King rode up; the Queen drove

* *Memoir of Louisa Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Richardson, p. 77.

as far as she could in a light carriage, then she also mounted on horseback, and guided her horse with a firm hand up the steep ascent. The King wished to conceal from her mere glimpses of the grand prospect, wishing it to burst upon her in its full glory when she reached the summit. He rode close beside her, both to protect her, and to intercept her view; and she, full of mirth, jestingly attempted to baffle him by casting sly glances around her, saying archly, 'I must look at you occasionally.' The last part of the ascent was performed on foot. The Schnee Koppe is 4,950 feet above the sea; its summit is the highest accessible point in Germany, commanding a magnificent view over Silesia and Bohemia. When the King reached this point, as he gazed around, he uncovered his head, looking 'through Nature up to Nature's God.' The Queen, with folded hands, as in prayer, stood by his side. The crowd of people who had followed them up were for a few moments awed by the religious veneration of their sovereign, but the silence was soon broken by loud shouts, and by the firing of cannon from adjacent heights, which echoed the sound.

The Queen, describing her feelings at that moment, said—'It seemed to me as if I were elevated above this earth, nearer to my God.'*

A few days afterwards the King and Queen went on to Waldenburg, and there they descended into a coal-mine. Being peculiarly situated in the side of a hill, the mine is commonly entered by a deep cavern through which a strong stream runs; therefore persons visiting it usually went in in a long boat. The singularity of this expedition,—the torches flaring on the

* Mrs Richardson's *Memoir of Queen Louisa*, p. 79.

dark scene, the wild groups of miners in their peculiar costume,—made a deep impression on the Queen; and she was long remembered by the miners.

After more than twenty years had elapsed, when Prince Radziwill took a similar excursion, he asked the miners if they recollected the Royal visit. An old man replied, 'Yes, Your Highness; about half of us are alive who had the honour of rowing the boat on that day; three of us are with you now. I sat at the rudder. I could see the Queen's sweet face well by the light of the lamps. I had never seen such a sweet face before in all my life. She looked grand, as a queen should look, but she was as gentle as a child, and had the sweetest smile I ever saw. We sang the ninety-sixth Psalm, "O sing unto the Lord a new song: sing unto the Lord, all the earth." The Queen took the King's hand, and said softly, "My favourite psalm—this is heavenly." And then turning to me, she said, "More slowly, my good steersman." The King and Queen made us all presents; she gave me with her own hand two new Holland ducats. I gave them to my wife, and she wears them for a necklace when she goes to church, for what *she* touched is holy. Ah! that was a woman indeed! Why did the good God take her from us so soon? She did everything kindly, and loved us all. She took away her mining dress to remind her of us as she told us.'* That hearty old miner's idea that the necklace should be worn in church, is much the same thought as Goethe expresses poetically, 'The place which the good have occupied is holy.'

Thus was Queen Louisa remembered by her hus-

* Mrs Richardson's *Memoir of Queen Louisa*, p. 79.

band's subjects; they knew that as long as she lived she thought of them. She was in the habit of sending tokens of regard to the people. At one time to the timber-cutters of Memel, at another to the amber-workers of Königsberg; and the coal-heavers of Waldenburg were not forgotten.

In the autumn of that year the King and Queen visited their friends at Weimar, and there, on the 11th of October, Herder was introduced to Queen Louisa. Her sweet face flushed with delight when she for the first time saw the author, whose pure, high-toned poetry had always harmonized with her own sentiments.* Ever since her girlhood she had been in the habit of taking a small edition of Herder's poems with her wherever she went; great, therefore, was the pleasure she felt in meeting the poet himself.

While Frederick William was maintaining peace in those unquiet times, in spite of the earnest solicitations of the Emperor of Russia—while he and his Queen were winning hearts, Napoleon and his victorious armies were gaining battle after battle in the brilliant campaigns of Marengo and Hohenlinden. By the former the French Republic gained possession of the Sardinian fortresses and the Cisalpine Republic. By the latter such a blow was dealt on the German army as at once prostrated the strength of the Empire.

At the commencement of the year 1801 the completion of the first centenary of the Kingdom of Prussia was celebrated as a National Jubilee. The 18th of January, being the Coronation-day of Frederick I., was marked with great rejoicings, not only by the Court, but also throughout all the Prussian States.

* Adami.

On that occasion there were many Royal visitors at the Court of Berlin, among them the hereditary Prince and Princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The Princess was by birth a Russian,—the Grand Duchess Helena, daughter of the Emperor Paul. She was so well pleased with her visit that she repeated it before the close of the year, as she was returning home from St Petersburg, after having spent some time with her father. These visits are worthy of note, as Queen Louisa and the amiable Princess Helena grew more than commonly attached to each other; and to the influence of that Russian Princess over her father and brother may be attributed, in a great measure, that warm, strong friendship which sprang up between the Royal Families of Russia and Prussia, which was afterwards more firmly cemented by matrimonial alliance.

While the Court of Berlin was graced by the presence of this attractive Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Charles Augustus, Duke of Weimar, the friend and patron of Goethe, was likewise shining there. He was a man of eccentric character, full of lively humour; no one contributed more than he did towards rendering the festivities animated and mirthful, sometimes even noisy and riotous. He happened to be at Berlin that year on the 10th of March, the Queen's Birthday, when he got up a most ludicrous scene. At tea-time he brought in a protegé of his, a person of uncommon genius as a caricaturist. This man was to cut out small block likenesses of all the grand personages and their suites, and these portraits were to be put together in one tableau. The Grand Duchess, the Princess of Orange, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Strelitz, the Princes of Orange

and Darmstadt, and other august visitors, were introduced in the most absurd manner into this picture, which was presented to the Queen with the birthday congratulations of the cheerful circle. The amusements proposed by the Duke of Weimar were generally of the free-and-easy sort; the Queen and her Royal lady guests occasionally found it difficult to keep him within the bounds of propriety; his lively disposition and extreme good-nature made him a favourite with them all.

When the jubilee of the centenary was over the Queen spent the remainder of that year even more quietly than usual; she took but one short journey with the King when he went to review the troops at Magdeburg. They spent the greater part of this year at Paretz, Charlottenburg, and Potsdam. The Queen, who was not quite strong at that time, required an interval of rest, and she took advantage of the leisure thus accorded, which enabled her to give especial attention to her children's education. Queen Louisa disapproved of the showy system of education which then prevailed; she thought it tended to produce conceit, and a shallow kind of wit, and did not do what education ought to do towards cultivating the mind, and sowing the precious seeds of wisdom and useful knowledge. She was not satisfied with moulding her children's ideas after the most approved models, and carefully storing their memories. She desired moreover to extend and strengthen all their various capacities. Under this feeling the Queen wrote thus to Professor Heydenreich: 'It is my wish to form my children's minds so as to give them capacity for philanthropic desires and enjoyments, that they may grow up to do good in their generation,

to be benefactors among their fellow-men.' On the same principle she endeavoured to improve all their natural capacities for well-doing. As the Royal children grew old enough to understand what they saw, they were taken to orphan institutions and public schools and exhibitions, and everything was shown and explained to them which could tend to open either their hearts or their minds. At the schools, when prizes were to be distributed to the young, they were often given by a prince or princess.

Both the King and Queen took very great interest in the Cadet House at Potsdam, and they made the boys feel that they were living especially under their sovereign's eye, and under his care.* Those who read Colonel Corvin's 'Recollections of his School-days' will see how it has come to pass that the Prussian army is what it now is. That military school was conducted on admirable principles, the rules were excellent, and the education given was sound and good generally, as well as from a military point of view. The buildings, courts, and grounds belonging to the establishment were very extensive, and all the internal arrangements were simple and convenient.

Immediately after breakfasting together in the large hall, the senior of each class led his class to its place in the *Betsaal*, or Prayer Hall, where the minister, or one of the governors, said prayers. The whole routine of the day was most regular, and very judiciously planned. Strict discipline was maintained, but tempered with the greatest kindness. Everything was arranged on a military system, but this was not carried to excess, and soon became agreeable, as it

* See *A Life of Adventure*, by Colonel Corvin. Bentley, London.

made everything easy. Each cadet had his own little garden, and each garden had its fruit tree. The old officer who gives this description does not forget his fine carnations.

All kinds of innocent amusements were encouraged. Collections of butterflies, insects, and other objects of natural history, were made, and also collections of engravings and seals; and many of the lads became skilful chess-players. In the winter evenings the professors invited the boys by turns into their rooms, where amusing books were read aloud. The novels of Fennimore Cooper and Sir Walter Scott were thus introduced to the young Prussians. Each company possessed a library of its own, which comprised, not only the best German books for children of that age, but also the works of those classical German authors, which were not above the comprehension of young readers. The selection had been made with the greatest care. 'When a translation of Homer was added to our library,' says Colonel Corvin, 'it created a kind of revolution in the Cadet House. We were all transformed into Greeks and Trojans, and made helmets and bucklers of cartoon, which we covered with silver paper, and ornamented with our arms. Spirited battles were fought with wooden swords and lances, which we understood how to manage better than we did the taunting Homeric speeches preceding a fight of two heroes.'

From Grecian history the cadets learnt to admire the Spartans; amusing anecdotes are related of their endeavours to imitate Spartan heroism. Accidents now and then occurred, but the chiefs of the establishment did not in consequence forbid these games. A

Cadet House is not a child's school, and such recreations develop courage and strength of mind and body. The grand cavalry charges, when they mounted on each other's shoulders, had a very ludicrous effect.

The cadets were always called out to attend all grand parades, reviews, and military spectacles. Their place was always by the side of the King, or immediately opposite to him; the troops defiling between them and their sovereign. Everything was done to make those boys feel that they formed part of the body of which the King was the head,—that, in one word, they belonged to him.

If any kind of public entertainment took place at Potsdam which young people could enjoy, the cadets were sure to be remembered. Every summer the boys were by turns invited repeatedly to spend a half-holiday at Peacock Island, and at a small hunting château in the woods belonging to the King. On these happy occasions they were allowed to run about without the least restraint, and to amuse themselves as they pleased, and excellent care was taken to give them pleasure, and plenty to eat and drink. In the winter, Christmas trees were lighted for the entertainment of those who could not go home. At midsummer the return home was in every way promoted, in order that family affection should not be weakened by too long a separation from relations and friends. The poorest cadets, whose parents lived far away, and were unable to afford the expense of the journey, received, not only the amount of the actual fare by coach, but also a surplus for pocket money, and extra expenses. 'I cannot sufficiently acknowledge,' says Colonel Corvin, 'the heartfelt fatherly, nay, motherly kindness, with which

our worthy superiors treated and cared for their large family.'*

A sweet choral chime is played every quarter of an hour by the musical bells of the Garrison church, which delights the young soldiers. They say the full chime sings a well-known hymn, the *refrain* of which may be thus translated:

'March on in truth and honesty,
Let not one footstep stray;
No, not so much as a finger's breadth
From God's straightforward way.'

In church the cadets were all ranged opposite the Royal Family. Immediately above the door of the sepulchral chamber, in which lie the bones of Frèderick the Great and his father, the founder of the church and school, rises the pulpit, which was at that time often occupied by Bishop Eylert. 'The King listened always with great attention to the sermon, and, the service ended, he rose, and with a jerk peculiar to him, pulled down his uniform.'†

Sunday after Sunday, year after year, hundreds upon hundreds of those young cadets looked with childish interest on the boy-princes standing beside their father. How many of them lived on to press around King William, to kiss his hand on the fields of Königgratz and Sedan?

Nevertheless, before those boys had grown strong enough to defend their country, Prussia fell under the power of a foreign despot. The nation fell because in her Council Chambers, in her busy commercial cities, in every grade of her society, there was much that was withered and corrupted, which had long been ready to

* *A Life of Adventure*, by Colonel Corvin. † Ibid.

fall; although within that dead husk there was vitality; —good seed, which under the divine blessing was to quicken into life, and to renew the face of the land.

Fifty years ago there were but two Cadet Houses in the kingdom of Prussia—one at Potsdam, and the other at Culm. They were both preparatory schools for the great Military College at Berlin, which the cadets entered on attaining their fourteenth year.

It was the custom, that the interior of the Palaces and other remarkable things in Potsdam should be shown to all those cadets who were about to be transferred to Berlin. At Sans-Souci they were admitted into Frederick the Great's study, which was kept in exactly the same state as it was in during his lifetime. There they saw his books, the arm-chair in which he expired, and the small white marble clock which is said to have stopped of its own accord at the moment of his decease. Also, on a pedestal, there was a fine bust of Frederick's favourite hero—Charles XII. of Sweden.

'Having seen all the lions of Potsdam, the young cadet took leave of his kind governors, officers, and comrades, and with mixed feelings of regret and pleasure, drove off to Berlin.' *

Changes of times and circumstances,—changes of political views and principles, could never obliterate one deep impression which these boys had received at Potsdam. Through life they retained unbounded esteem for the personal characters of Frederick William III. and Queen Louisa, and cherished grateful recollections of their goodness.

Being heartily interested in the subject of education, the King did not confine his attention to the military

* Colonel Corvin.

schools, he was most anxious to diffuse educational advantages among all classes of the people. At that time the Pestalozzian system was a new thing, and its merits were being very widely discussed. Pestalozzi had struck out new theories which were still in a crude state—they have been taken up by other men and used as foundation-stones, on which the various systems now prevailing in Europe and America have been reared. It is not Pestalozzi's system, but the principle he struck out, which entitles him to be looked upon as one of the world's great benefactors.

He discovered a principle which led him to aim at bringing out the child's natural powers, the faculties of observation and reflection, and teaching him to think, instead of merely storing his memory with facts, and with the ideas and expressions of others. Many of the great school-master's plans were defective, though he worked on them himself with zeal and diligence, which supplied what was wanting to systematic perfection. Children received a sounder education in his schools than could have been given them elsewhere, though the work which this remarkable man was sent into the world to do was too great a work to be perfected by one individual in a single generation.

The King of Prussia sent Dr Frederick Gedike, a member of the Berlin Academy of Science and Art, to Switzerland, that he might become personally acquainted with Pestalozzi, and be instructed by him in his method of education. This system was the instrument by means of which Frederick William III. carried on the most important work of his long reign of forty-three years, a reign eminently beneficent and prosperous, notwithstanding the overwhelming cala-

mities which rushed on for eight or ten years like a devastating flood.

The general diffusion of education is remoulding the strong materials of German character: Germans themselves are aware of this. We cannot stop to argue or even to touch upon the consequences which have already resulted, or which seem likely to ensue, from the educational movement; we will but note one of its effects which bears on some of the incidents in this historical narrative. As a whole nation becomes enlightened, prejudices melt away like morning mist, and then the different classes of society are able better to appreciate each other, and to take a more just and generous view of their mutual relationships. An immense deal of exclusiveness separated the States of Germany, and all the classes of society throughout that country. Every section prided itself in maintaining this feeling, and all the petty jealousies to which it gave rise, but it was most systematically cherished in the Prussian army, as Colonel Corvin acknowledges when he amusingly describes what he thought of himself as a Prussian officer in his younger days. Every class and grade was exclusive, and a law, which has been abolished, prohibited them from intermarrying. The common proverbs of a people are said to indicate their prominent characteristics. The Germans have a proverb which in their language agrees with the rules of rhyme though not with those of reason; it can only be translated thus—'The noble are born, the bourgeoisie are thrown into the world.'

One of the many anecdotes related of Queen Louisa by Bishop Eylert exemplifies the narrow-minded way in which that proverb could be applied. The scene

described by the Bishop occurred at Magdeburg, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, and the chief citadel of Prussia. From its commanding position on the Elbe it has been called the key of Prussia. The King annually visited this important garrison town to review the troops, and the Queen usually accompanied him; and on those occasions she held a court at Magdeburg. Those persons who were in the habit of coming to the receptions were remembered and personally known by the Queen; but one day it happened that a lady, the daughter of a wealthy merchant of the city, was presented, on her marriage with a major in the army. The Queen, who had never seen her before, with cordial frankness asked her the question, '*Was sind Sie für eine Geborne?*' literally, 'What were you born?' but as it is commonly used, it means, 'Of what family are you?' Not expecting to be thus addressed by the Queen, the young bride was taken by surprise. With a truthful impulse, in the confusion of the moment, she gave the unfortunate reply, 'Oh, Your Majesty, I am of no birth,' meaning to say not high-born. 'Not born, but thrown into the world,' said an aristocratic lady, quoting the vulgar proverb. She spoke in an undertone, but loud enough to divert her companions, who were not sufficiently well-bred to control their satirical humour, which added mortification to the previous perplexity of the nervous lady. The Queen instantly perceived what was passing, and it vexed her exceedingly: with her natural quickness she spoke on the indignant feeling of the moment, yet not losing her self-possession. 'Ah! Frau Major,' she said with courteous dignity, 'I intended to ask you only a

simple question as to your family; I wished to know your maiden name. You have given me a deep answer. Certainly, the expression to be well-born, if it signifies only inherited nobility, has very little meaning, because, strictly speaking, in birth all men are equal. Yet, undoubtedly, it is a great advantage to be one of a family whose members have meritoriously distinguished themselves, and often from the lowest classes have come the greatest benefactors of the world, men whom their country may be proud to own. External advantages we may inherit, but internal superiority can only be attained through self-government. I thank you, Frau Major, for having given me the opportunity of expressing my sentiments on this not unimportant subject. I give you my good wishes on your marriage, feeling assured that the heart is the only source whence real happiness can spring.'

Queen Louisa thus expressed herself in the tone and attitude of one born to command; she raised her noble head, adorned with the diadem of pearls and diamonds which she wore on state occasions, and her clear blue eyes rested calmly on the circle she addressed: the fluttering of her fan was the only token of excitement. In society she almost always held a fan in her hand, and she had the habit of waving it gently or rapidly according to the current of her thoughts.

CHAPTER IV.

NAPOLEON'S decisive victory over the Austrians at Marengo had led to the Peace of Luneville between Austria and France, which was ratified in February, 1801.*

Towards the close of March in that year, the world was startled by terrible news from St Petersburg. On the night of the 23rd, the Emperor Paul was assassinated in the Michael Palace by sixty conspirators.

Many causes had conspired to irritate the Russian nobles against their Emperor, and lately his conduct had been so strange and inconsistent as to give rise to a very general belief that his brain was affected. This was a dreadful calamity on the nation, as the will of the Czar was law. He had become madly perverse, and the obstinacy of his character precluded all hopes of a return on his part to more rational principles of administration.

It is said that his wife and sons were aware that a considerable number of the most powerful nobles had engaged in a plot to dethrone the Emperor, but that

* England, Holland, and Spain continued the war a year longer. These nations concluded a Treaty of Peace with France at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802.

they had no idea that his life would be even endangered; and they were plunged into an agony of grief and despair when informed of the horrible catastrophe.

The evident symptoms of insanity which this ill-fated monarch evinced towards the close of his reign, his fickleness of conduct, tyrannical usage of British seamen, and general extravagance of demeanour, ought not to make us forget the good qualities which at an earlier period he displayed, and the important improvements which he effected in his country. * * * He was vehement, inconsistent, and capricious, but not without a large intermixture of generous feeling, and occasionally capable of heroic actions.*

Although the Emperor Paul had very much harassed the King of Prussia by his endeavours to force him into taking part in the European war, yet both Frederick William and Louisa felt his sad death very deeply, and sympathized with his family in their severe and extraordinary affliction. As a token of gratitude and regard, the widowed Empress of Russia conferred on Queen Louisa the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Order of St Catherine, set in diamonds of the finest quality. It was presented to her through the Russian ambassador at the Court of Berlin.

On the 29th of June, 1801, Queen Louisa added a third son to her family, who received the name of Frederick Charles Alexander, he is called Prince Charles.

The whole continent of Europe rested from war when the treaty had been signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, A.D. 1802; and it was hoped that tranquillity would long continue. On the 8th of April

* *History of Europe*, by Archibald Alison. Ninth edition. Vol. v., p. 125.

another important event took place, which gave heartfelt satisfaction to an innumerable multitude of the French people, and of those who had sympathized with them through the most awful sufferings and grievous privations occasioned by the Revolution. On that day the *Concordatum* between the French Government and the Church of Rome, and the different articles by which it provided for a Church Establishment in France, received the sanction of the *Corps Législatif*. Thus the forms of religion which had been utterly abolished were again established by the law of the land. On the following day Cardinal Caprera, the Pope's Legate, was admitted to an audience of the First Consul; the ceremony was conducted in a manner in every respect similar to that which was customary under the monarchical form of government.

On the 18th, being Easter Day, the Cathedral of Notre Dame was re-opened for public worship. The First Consul and his colleagues went in grand procession to the church. The Pope's Legate also appeared in full state, and divided the honours of the day with the nation's great benefactor, by whom this happy change had been brought about. So short a time had been allowed for cleaning and decorating the building, that the contrast between the dirt and desolation which had long been permitted, and the pomp and splendour of that Easter morning, was strangely striking. The Te Deum was magnificently sung, and with deep feeling; many persons found it difficult to restrain their emotion, while not a few were overpowered by it; for this first solemn celebration of high mass necessarily awakened the saddest feelings and the most painful recollections.

The carriages of the consuls, and the green and gold embroidered liveries of their attendants, were exceedingly rich. The next day there was a grand banquet in celebration of the peace, and the restoration of public worship, and Paris was splendidly illuminated.* It was a truly grand occasion, nevertheless all that had been utterly subverted could not be restored in a day. Religious impressions of all sorts had been obliterated by the cessation of public worship and instruction, and a fearful majority of the young people were beginning life ignorant of the very elements of faith, hardened in unbelief, and indifferent to everything beyond the interests of this present world.

The King and Queen of Prussia spent nearly all the summer of 1802 in making a tour to the eastern part of the kingdom. They passed through Pomerania, stopping at Stargard, where a grand review took place. Thence they proceeded *via* Graudenz to Königsberg. Again the loyal inhabitants of that ancient city testified their joy by various kinds of rejoicings. An excursion had been arranged for the Queen on the river Pregel, as far as the country palace of Holstein, about a mile from the town. The joyful acclamations of the people who lined the river on both sides, the flags displayed by all the vessels, the thunder of the cannon, the sprightly Turkish music on the boats accompanying the one in which their Majesties were seated, all contributed to produce a beautiful and animated scene.†

On the 7th of June they left Königsberg to go on to

* Sir George Jackson, an eye-witness of the scene.

† *Memoir of Louisa Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Richardson, p. 90. Published by Bentley, 1848.

Memel. As they were embarking in a tastefully-decorated vessel which was to convey them across the harbour to the port of Memel, a boat approached the Royal yacht containing twelve Lithuanian girls, who sang a joyful welcome, and presented specimens of Lithuanian workmanship. The Queen admired their picturesque costume, and she spoke a few words to them in their own language, expressing a hope that they would not alter their national dress by degrees, until at last it should be entirely discontinued. The Lithuanian women, perceiving that the Queen interested herself in them so warmly, presented themselves before her on horseback, in full costume. The women of the higher and lower classes alike ride, without exception, as men, and wear a white woollen garment trimmed at the edge with a broad coloured border; worn as a mantle, hanging from the left shoulder, and fastened on the right by a large round metal brooch.*

This visit to Memel is chiefly remarkable on account of the meeting which then took place between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia. Alexander visited Frederick William and Louisa at Memel; and the personal acquaintance thus commenced quickly ripened into a very warm friendship between the two monarchs. At Paretz there is a bright painting which represents this meeting. It shows the King of Prussia introducing the Emperor to the Queen. The plump, though rather tall, and very stately figure of the Countess Von Voss is also prominent. Although she has the fair complexion and blue eyes often found

* *Memoir of Louisa Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Richardson, pp. 90, 91. Bentley, 1848.

among the Germans, she looks more like a French lady of rank.

Alexander was wonderfully fitted by nature for his eminent position, and for the extraordinary times in which he lived. His personal appearance and his manners were very winning, such as attracted both respect and regard. He seemed born to command, yet not by the strength of an imperious will, but rather by the power of moral influence, which naturally belongs to a very generous and philanthropic disposition, when it is combined with a vigorous understanding and an energetic temperament. A majestic figure, and a benevolent expression of countenance, gave him that sway over the multitude which ever belongs to physical advantages in youthful princes; while the qualities of his mind and the feelings of his heart secured the admiration of all whose talents fitted them to judge of the affairs of nations. Misunderstood by those who formed their opinion only from the ease and occasional levity of his manner, he was early formed to great determinations, and evinced under the most trying circumstances a solidity of judgment equalled only by the strength of his resolutions.*

It was natural that two young monarchs of nearly the same age, both highly conscientious, and assimilating with each other on many points, should become mutually attached in a warm and steadfast friendship: and it was equally natural that Alexander's character, being the more firm and decided, should become the dominant one, that he should acquire great influence over Frederick William.

At that moment Alexander was one of the warmest

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Ninth edition, vol. v. p. 126.

and most sincere of Napoleon Bonaparte's many admirers. In reading history we should always carry the dates in our minds, to guard ourselves against being misled into a very common error which gives mistaken and untruthful views. Otherwise we are apt to forget that those of whom we read could not look into the future—they could only know what was thus far revealed. For instance, at the beginning of this century, Napoleon's character was not fully developed; indeed, it was not perfectly formed and matured: it was corrupting while it ripened under the ardent sunshine of extraordinary prosperity, in beams too dazzling for our weak human nature. We see the gathered fruit, we handle it with eager curiosity. Let us remember, too, that only the surface is presented to us, the inner man is known to God alone.

Alexander and Frederick William spent a week together at Memel. The good people of that town felt not a little proud of entertaining at once two reigning sovereigns. The ship-owners and merchants gave a brilliant ball, which the Emperor of Russia opened with the Queen of Prussia. On the 8th of July Alexander returned to his own country, and the King and Queen on the same day commenced their homeward journey, which they made by way of Warsaw and Posen.

On the 22nd of February, A. D. 1803, Queen Louisa welcomed her seventh child. This fourth daughter received the name of Frederica Wilhelmina Alexandra. As the elder children grew old enough to enjoy exhibitions and entertainments, such as were suitable to their capacities, they were introduced at Court. We read of conjurers, ventriloquists, rope-

dancers, giants, dwarfs, &c., who had the honour of appearing before the Royal Family. Juvenile balls, which were generally costume balls, were got up in brilliant style at Berlin. Allegorical representations also were then very fashionable, they gave opportunity for inventing the most fanciful attire imaginable. Young ladies were dressed to personate the seasons and months of the year, the hours of the day, and dark night lightened by the silver crescent and glittering stars. Classical subjects were often dramatized. Juno, Minerva, Venus, Cupid, and all the Muses and the Graces, appeared in the saloons of the palaces and noble mansions in Berlin and Potsdam.

The Queen enjoyed these things in her light-hearted way; the King took a singular kind of pleasure in them. They touched the satirical vein in his constitution, and now and then his lip curled with a smile of conflicting good-humour and irony, as in his contemplative mind he weighed the difference between the vain pageantry and the realities of life. He liked to make himself acquainted with everything that was seen and done in the capital; even the recreations of the lower classes did not escape his observant eye. He well knew the habits of his people, and liked to give them such innocent pleasure as they could appreciate. One day, when he was at the Château at Paretz, taking dessert with the Queen and his children, he noticed a little peasant boy coming towards the Castle. His Majesty cut a slice of pine-apple and gave it to the boy, who ate the delicious fruit, which he had never before tasted, with great relish. The Queen asked him what he thought it was most like, to which the little fellow instantly replied,

'Like sausage.' They all laughed at that comparison, but the King thought it a very natural idea, and explained that it was complimentary to the pine, as the country people look upon sausage as the most savoury food in the world.

The kind-hearted King was exceedingly careful to avoid hurting the feelings of even one of the humblest individuals among his subjects. When he went to Breslau to inspect the troops he usually stopped at a way-side cottage, and took refreshment under a fine oak tree which stood near it. The simple meal was furnished by the cottager, who was proud and pleased to set his best fare before his beloved sovereign. The milk, eggs, butter, and home-made bread, were generally delicious, but once it unfortunately happened that the bread was sour. The King's servant remembered this; and the next time he went on that road with his Royal master he took care to be provided with white bread; but this time the peasant's bread was excellent. The King pushed the white bread aside impatiently, saying, 'Why have you brought this? You know that in the country I like to live like the country people. This good man gives me the best of everything he has; it vexes him to see his bread disparaged; the feelings of the people must be respected, this must not happen again.' The servant took this rebuke in silence, but afterwards explained his motives to the gentleman who was in attendance on the King. Later in the day, when they were dining, the King held out a gold watch to his servant, saying kindly, but in the short way habitual to him, 'This morning you did too much.—Well meant. Thanks.—Here is a gift from me which you must look

upon as a remembrance of this fine morning under the oak tree.' He had perceived that, while considering the feelings of the peasant, he had grieved a faithful servant, and he quickly repaired the injustice.

The King never allowed the need of economy to be forgotten in the Royal household. Bishop Eylert says, 'One Sunday I preached on the text, "Gather up the fragments which remain, that nothing be lost."* His Majesty expressed his approval of the sermon, and remarked, "The secret of dollars lies in groschen; whoever would possess the one should be careful of the other."'

The Royal table was usually served like that of any private gentleman, as the King had no desire to indulge in expensive luxuries, and forbade their being procured except on extraordinary occasions. But one day he asked a gentleman who was dining with him how he liked the soup. 'It is excellent,' replied the guest, 'as I always find when I have the honour of dining with Your Majesty.' 'Do you find anything remarkable in it?' 'No, Your Majesty.' 'What do you take those webs of white thread for?' 'Is it not vermicelli, Your Majesty, very fine vermicelli paste?' 'Capital,' said the King, laughing. 'These are Chinese birds'-nests, which were sent to me as a present by my elder sister. Every nest costs a ducat. People have crotchets and birds'-nests in their heads sometimes. You are right—vermicelli does quite as well, the poor cannot even have that.'

Although the King was averse to unnecessary expenditure, yet he thought little of money where charity was concerned. He gave liberally, and made the

* Gospel of St John, 6th chapter, 12th verse.

Queen an ample allowance that she might do the same. Her warm heart, in its anxiety to lighten the troubles of the needy, sometimes prompted her to overdraw. The treasurer thought it his duty to tell her that she gave too much. The Queen gently answered, 'My good Wolker, it is my happiness to be the wife of the father of the land, and I am the mother of the land; that name sounds sweetly to me; and I love all my children.' 'Well,' said Wolker, 'I must mention this to His Majesty.' 'Do so,' replied the Queen; 'he will not be angry.' The next time she opened the drawer of her writing-case, in which she kept her pocket money, she found it had been refilled. 'Ah,' said she to the King, 'what invisible being has filled that drawer again.' Her husband gave an affectionate reply; and before they dropped this pleasant conversation, he quoted and connected two of his favourite texts of Holy Scripture, according to Luther's translation. 'The blessing of God maketh rich without trouble.' * —and 'The Lord gives to his own in sleep,'—or, *while* they sleep.

Bishop Eylert says, 'When the Queen was at Potsdam, she often sent to me petitions from various applicants, desiring me to inquire into the cases, that we might give them consideration. On these occasions the Queen's judgment always leant to the side of mercy. She used to say, 'The lines which separate deserved from undeserved suffering are very seldom distinctly drawn, they run into each other, and we ought not to forget how unworthy we are to receive the rich blessings which God bestows on us.'

The King and Queen were among the most regular

* Proverbs x. 22; Psalm cxxvii. 2.

and punctual attendants at church, they encouraged their attendants to follow their example, and none of their children might be absent. It once happened that on his way to church the King was detained by a courier, and was in consequence five or ten minutes later than usual. The Bishop delayed giving the organist the customary notice to begin, until the King had taken his place. After the service was over he sent one of his adjutants to express his thanks for the attention, but at the same time to direct, that should a similar case again occur I was not to do so again, as the many ought not to wait for one; and in the church he wished to be considered only as a member of the congregation. At a grand military festival the Garrison Church was so densely crowded that a respectable woman, who came in late, could find no seat. Being quite unacquainted with the church, she by mistake opened the door of the Royal pew; but seeing it nearly filled with distinguished-looking persons, she was about to retire, when a lady made a quiet sign to her to take a vacant place in a back row of seats. She conducted herself with perfect propriety, but when the service was over the ceremonious *Oberhofmeisterin* came forward and rebuked her for the impertinent intrusion. All her assurances that it had happened by accident, through ignorance—all her humble apologies were unavailing; and although she mentioned the name and respectable position of her husband, she was treated as if she had been guilty of a misdemeanour. The poor woman went to Bishop Eylert, and with tears related to him the vexatious misadventure; she was really grieving under the idea that she had in some unpardonable way forgotten her reverence for the Queen, whom she hon-

oured and loved. While the Bishop was endeavouring to console her, Count Von Brühl arrived, bearing a message from the Queen, who desired to see the Bishop as soon as possible. He thus describes the interview: —'As I entered the audience-chamber she met me, and addressed me quickly in a tone of distress. "Oh, do tell me what has happened in the church," she said. "I have just heard that a respectable woman has been rudely treated by the *Oberhofmeisterin*. How has it happened? Can it be only because she sat in our pew? It is well known what the King and I think about the ceremonials of Court etiquette. They cannot be altogether set aside, but surely some distinction can be drawn, and they can be forgotten in church, where we meet to worship the Most High God."' The Queen and the Bishop had some further conversation, which the former concluded by saying, 'I beg you to put this matter right. Come and dine with us to-day on Peacock Island, and tell me that you have set the good woman's mind at rest. Bring her to me to-morrow, for I should like to know her personally, and to speak to her myself.'

Bishop Eylert spent much time with the King and Queen when they were at Potsdam, or on Peacock Island, which was only three miles from that town. When they were on the island they had more leisure for enjoying the society of their venerable chief pastor, which evidently gave them both pleasure and satisfaction.

The Bishop relates that on a glorious summer's afternoon (probably on a Sunday, though that is not specified), he read a sermon to the Royal family and members of the household as they sat under the shade

of some favourite oaks near the Castle. He had previously preached that discourse in church, Their Majesties had been pleased with it, and the Queen had requested him to bring the manuscript that they might hear it a second time. Bishop Eylert had taken a text from the Book of Ruth, which he had combined with a passage in the Book of Joshua.* The object of his sermon was to prove that family ties are holy, being actually formed by God Himself; and that the Almighty Ruler of the Universe looks to the heads of families, requiring them so to order their households, so to bring up their children, that when they have passed away from this earthly scene the fruits of their faith and obedience may remain.

The Queen sat next the King with her hand in his. 'My discourse,' says Eylert, 'touched on the holiness of Christian marriage, on the closeness of the union, and on the relationships and responsibilities connected with it.

'When the sermon was concluded the King's private band assembled at a short distance from the little congregation, and played the choral adapted to the well-known words of a favourite hymn, which may be thus translated :—

"In all my actions I ask counsel of the Most High,
Who can do all things, to whom all things belong.
The greatest efforts, the best works of men
Can be successful only blessed by Him ;
Done in His wisdom and His strength.
What can avail my trouble or my care ?
His will be done; I trust myself and all that is mine to His paternal love.
Nothing can happen to me but what He has chosen, and what is for my good.
I accept it as He sends it to me, and what He wills that I should do, that will I do."—*Paul Flemming.*

* Ruth i. 16, 17. Joshua xxiv. 15.

'In silence we followed the train of thought suggested by the music of the hymn, and when it had ceased there was a solemn pause, for we were all engaged with our own thoughts. The clear, bright sun had crimsoned the clouds, and was shedding its rosy gleams through the trees of the grove; the full moon had already risen in the east. It seemed to me as if this beautiful island were as a temple of the living God. All around us was so still and peaceful, and the peace of God within our souls. The King was the first to move. He rose, and, placing his hand on the Queen's shoulder, he said softly, but audibly, "It shall be so, dear Louisa; I and my house, we will serve the Lord." In evident emotion, but in silence, he took up his camp-chair and moved away from us to a small thicket on the river's brink, a sheltered spot in which he was accustomed to hide himself when he wished to be alone.'

The Queen's temperament was very different from his; when her heart was full she could not help pouring it out to the nearest sympathizing friend. It was natural to her to give vent to her feelings, and on that evening she spoke without reserve to the Bishop and Count Brühl, the rest of the party having dispersed. The Queen openly expressed her great happiness in being the wife of so excellent a man as the King; she ardently cherished the highest esteem as well as the most devoted affection towards her husband. It would have been idolatry had she not continually looked up through this her greatest earthly blessing to the Almighty Giver and Preserver. 'Did you hear what the King said to me?' she said; and, with clasped hands and eyes full of tears, she repeated the words,

'"As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord,"' adding a brief prayer that it might indeed be so. The Queen's religious opinions were quite untinged with any shade of mysticism, but her mind was deeply impressed with the great truth, that every circumstance which can in any way affect a child of God is overruled by a wiser judgment and a higher power than his own; and she held this child-like faith throughout her life in a child-like spirit. Yet it was natural to her to be strongly influenced by impressions made instantaneously, but not made to pass away as though they had never been received. On that memorable evening she called the attention of Bishop Eylert and Count Brühl to the quiet river then reflecting the varied hues of earth and sky, and to all the sweet features of the lovely, tranquil scene. Louisa looked upon it as the emblem of Peace, and she spoke of peace as the greatest of blessings, and of the peace of God, to which every other kind of peace bears witness—the true peace, incomprehensible to us, although we feel its holy comfort when it raises our souls above the world, above the visible sun, to the Eternal Source of light and warmth, in which our spiritual nature can alone exist.

Queen Louisa's heart swelled with gratitude as she spoke of these things, and overflowed in expressions of thankfulness. She named three persons to whom she felt deeply indebted. Her physician, Hufeland, who was, she said, a physician for the soul as well as the body; her venerable chaplain, the Prebendary Ribbeck; and Delbrück, the Crown Prince's tutor. When that Prince was five years old, Johann Frederick Delbrück, Rector of the Public School at Magde-

burg, had been selected as his first preceptor. Of this gentleman, Queen Louisa said, 'I esteem Delbrück chiefly because he awakens in my children's hearts a love towards the Saviour.' These few words which fell from the Queen's lips give us the key-note of her eldest son's character. The early impressions made by the precepts and example of his parents and his first tutor lasted throughout the whole of his life. Frederick William IV. has left on earth many tokens of his trust in the Redeemer, and of his desire to freely and openly confess that faith before men. One of the most conspicuous is the inscription round the cupola above the chapel of the old Schloss of Berlin, which was beautifully restored by the late King. Above the palace and the city, on a blue ground we read in glittering characters:—'Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.' 'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth: and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'*

Year by year, as the 18th of January comes round, Prussia celebrates her first coronation; and on that day a larger number of persons than usual assemble under that cupola and its heavenward-pointing cross. Crowds of spectators stand around to see the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and all the men who have gained honours in their country's service, going into the chapel, to join in the religious service by which the foundation of the kingdom is solemnly memorialized. It was a brilliant congregation which poured in

* Acts iv. 12, and Phil. ii. 10, 11.

under the dome on that anniversary, A. D. 1873. The regal robe was on the shoulders of Queen Louisa's second son, for his elder brother 'sleeps in Jesus,' but the standard which he reared maintains its high position, and under it his surviving relatives and most distinguished fellow-countrymen were meeting to acknowledge the nation's dependence on Divine Providence. They united their voices to pray, chiefly for national blessings, to repeat the Apostles' Creed, and to sing the praises of Him who changeth not with the changes of time—the Eternal Three in One, and One in Three.

That scene must have made different impressions on minds differently moulded by the strong force of early education, and subsequently by the various forms of trial by which faith must be tested, in days certainly remarkable for extraordinary Papal assumption on the one hand, and bold free-thinking on the other. Yet, in the multitude of lookers-on, there may have been many a one who, firmly believing in the glorious truth set round the summit of that house of God, would thereby be reminded of one of the most precious promises contained in Holy Scripture:—'When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him.'

May the descendants of Frederick William III. for ever adhere to the resolution he expressed in all sincerity on that quiet Sunday afternoon, under the shade of the oak trees in the peaceful garden.

The castle on Peacock Island is now in too dilapidated a state to be a Royal residence. Cherished memorials of the happy home-life which once animated it are still carefully preserved. Queen Louisa's piano

is there, and a vase and basket, in which she used to arrange nosegays of flowers gathered by her own hand; and there are several little presents given to her on different occasions by her children, such things as they could make themselves. An old servant has charge of the castle, and throughout every summer it is visited by the different branches of the Royal Family, a family still spreading like a tree planted by the water's side. The Princess Imperial of Germany, our own beloved Princess Royal, often takes, or sends, her children, to spend a few happy hours on the island; it is a favourite spot for a holiday treat, which little princes and princesses enjoy as much as do other children.

CHAPTER V.

THE universal satisfaction occasioned by the Treaty of Amiens is thus described by Sir Archibald Alison. 'Unbounded was the joy, unlimited the hopes conceived in Europe upon the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens. Ten years of ceaseless effusion of blood had tamed the fiercest spirits, and hushed the strongest passions: the finances of all the parties in the strife had become grievously embarrassed, and the people of every country, yielding to the joyful illusion, fondly imagined that the period of discord had terminated. Little anticipating the dreadful calamities which yet awaited them, the people of Paris forgot in the glitter of reviews and the splendour of military pageantry all the horrors and troubles of the Revolution: the inhabitants of Vienna enjoyed with unwonted zest the respite from anxiety and exertion which the suspension of hostilities afforded them; and the youth of Britain hastened in crowds to the French metropolis to gratify their curiosity by the sight of the scenes which had so long been the theatre of tragic events, and of the heroes who had gained immortality by their glorious achievements.*

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Ninth edition, vol. v., p. 227.

Mr Fox was amongst the first of the many illustrious Englishmen who hastened to Paris to look on the remains and the men of the Revolution. Napoleon received him in the most distinguished manner, and invariably treated him with every mark of esteem and regard. At that time there was a rumour afloat, which was really believed at the Tuileries, that Mr Pitt had formed some design against Napoleon's life. Mr Fox, during his intercourse with the First Consul, endeavoured to impress upon him the absurdity and falsehood of this idea. He said frequently in his bad French, 'Premier Consul, otez cela de votre tête.' In the midst of the French generals and officers Mr Fox defended his great opponent, and pleaded his cause with a warmth and generosity which excited the admiration of even the most envenomed enemies of the English administration. *

The aspect of Paris at this period was sufficient to have captivated a people gifted with a less volatile imagination than the French, more especially coming as it did after the melancholy scenes of the Revolution. The vast influx of strangers, chiefly English and Russians, filled the streets with brilliant equipages; while the gay liveries dazzled the inhabitants from the contrast they afforded to the sombre Jacobin costume. The whole population of Paris flocked to the Place Carrousel, where their eyes were daily dazzled by splendid reviews attended by a concourse of strangers. The higher classes of citizens were not less captivated by the numerous and brilliant levées and drawing-rooms, in which the Court of the First Consul already rivalled the most sumptuous displays

* Alison, quoting Duchesse D'Albrantes and Las-Casas.

of European royalty. The representatives of Russia, England, and Prussia, were especially distinguished by the magnificence of their retinues and the eminent persons whom they presented to the First Consul.*

At the same time lovers of art flocked to Paris to see the Venus de Medici of Florence, and the fine paintings of the Vatican, the chefs-d'œuvres of Correggio, Raphael, and Domenichino, exhibited in the Louvre; and the beautiful or curious objects from Egypt and the eastern lands, which had been overrun by the victorious armies of France.

It was during this bright, hopeful second year of the new century that the Code Napoleon was framed and instituted. That celebrated body of laws justly bears Napoleon's name, and with equal justice it still upholds his name and vindicates his memory, giving incontrovertible and perpetual evidence to the highest and best qualities of his mind. The First Consul presided at almost all the meetings of the Commission for the formation of the Civil Code, and took such a vivid interest in the debates that he frequently remained at them six or eight hours a day. Free discussion in that assembly gave him the highest gratification,—he provoked it, sustained it, and shared in it. He spoke without embarrassment or pretension in the style rather of free and animated conversation, than of premeditated or laboured harangue. Bertrand de Molleville, formerly Minister of Marine to Louis XVI., and a man of no ordinary capacity, said, in reference to these discussions—'Napoleon was certainly an extraordinary man, we were very far indeed from appreciating him on the other side of the water. From the

* Abridged from *Alison's History of Europe.* Ninth edit., vol. v., p. 215.

moment that I looked into the discussions on the civil code, I conceived the most profound admiration for his capacity.'

Lord Bacon observes that when 'laws have been heaped upon laws in such a state of confusion as to render it necessary to revise them and collect their spirit into a new and intelligible system, those who accomplished such an heroic task have a good right to be classed among the benefactors of mankind.' The difficulties of legislating for an empire composed of the remains of monarchical and republican institutions were peculiarly formidable, but Napoleon accomplished the task to his own satisfaction; he said himself that his fame in the eyes of posterity would rest even more on the code which bore his name than on all the victories he had won. Time has proved the truth of this prophecy,—the Code Napoleon has not only survived the Empire which gave it birth, but continues under new dynasties and different forms of government to regulate the decisions of France, and of many other nations which have adopted it as the basis of their jurisprudence—nations thus were leagued to bring about the overthrow of its author. It is no longer the conqueror of Jena or Austerlitz, striking down nations in a single field, whom we recognize; it is Solon legislating for a distracted people, it is Justinian digesting the treasures of ancient jurisprudence, that arises to our view; and the transient glories even of the imperial reign fade before the durable monument which his varied genius has erected in the permanent code of half Europe.*

Tranquillity having been restored to Europe, all the

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Ninth edition, vol. v., pp. 219, 220.

nations of the continent were on friendly terms one with the other. The Peace of Amiens was as yet unbroken, and the people believed it would be permanent. They did not reflect on the unstable basis on which this temporary respite rested; they did not consider that it was not from the causes of hostility having ceased, but from the means of carrying it on having been exhausted, that a truce had been obtained.* In that happy moment they saw Napoleon deeply intent on legislation, and they could but admire the wisdom he displayed. At the same time he was gratifying the Parisians and attracting the world's eye, by enlarging and greatly beautifying Paris. They saw the renowned army and the resuscitated navy of France fully occupied in the West Indies; engaged in an expedition projected on a scale of uncommon magnitude for the purpose of recovering St Domingo. The natives of that island had taken advantage of the disorder occasioned by the Revolution, to throw off the yoke of France, and to assert their freedom. This expedition proved unsuccessful: out of 35,000 troops embarked, scarcely 7,000 ever regained the shores of France. All these circumstances tended to lull to rest fears and suspicions that war might soon burst out afresh.

Unbounded was the gratitude of the French nation towards the great commander who had seized the helm of the state and guided it on to glory through imminent perils; and it was not in France alone that the First Consul was supremely honoured and esteemed. His brilliant career had won the admiration even of many who had lately been numbered among his enemies. Still no one more highly appreciated Napo-

* Alison.

leon's great qualities, or was more blind to his unconfessed designs, than the Emperor of Russia. Alexander was young and very generous, it was not natural to him to entertain dark suspicions; and as yet circumstances had not developed Napoleon's great defect: that one defect, gigantic as the talents and superior qualities it counterbalanced—utter want of moderation. Alexander knew that he was ambitious, but had formed no conception of the insatiable and intensely domineering character of that ambition. The King of Prussia also was disposed to look favourably on the First Consul, to honour him as the saviour of his country, and Alexander's opinions had great weight with Frederick William. The latter ardently desired the continuance of peace, and therefore agreed with his minister Haugwitz, who was inclined to humour Napoleon's arbitrary spirit, rather than to provoke a war with France. Haugwitz indeed seems to have preferred siding with France to co-operating with Great Britain, but his conduct was so crafty that it is difficult to say what were his real motives.

In the month of May, 1802, about two months after the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens, which it was then generally believed would be permanent, the Prussian government entered into an alliance with France. The Emperor Alexander ratified this treaty, although he was not a party to it. The terms were decidedly advantageous to Prussia, as she gained extensive territorial possessions adjoining her own dominions. Napoleon, foreseeing that all the European powers would not be subservient to his will and ready to accept his arbitration, and being determined to crush down all opposition to his plans and aspirations, was, at

that time, very anxious to conciliate Prussia, to place her in such a position as would render it difficult for her hereafter to join in any coalition against France.

'Thus, by this treaty of May, 1802,' says Sir Archibald Alison, 'did Russia and Prussia unite with the First Consul in laying the foundation of the Confederation of the Rhine, from which as a hostile outwork he was afterwards enabled to lead his armies to Jena, Friedland, and the Kremlin.'*

Very different was the temper which animated Great Britain in the Cabinet and throughout all classes of the people. No sooner did Napoleon begin to show that he intended to be bound by no treaties, than England showed her determination to resist his will. The English press made use of its liberty to excite the public mind against every overbearing act of the despot. It openly censured his conduct with respect to Switzerland, his infringements on the conditions of the Peace of Amiens, and his encroachments on the rights of other sovereigns. Napoleon, in a rage, despatched a most unreasonable demand to the British government. He demanded that the liberty of the press should be abridged, that the Bourbon Princes should be banished from England, that such of the French emigrants as still thought proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France should be compelled to quit the British empire, and he made other equally arrogant demands. The British government replied 'that the French government must have formed a very erroneous judgment of the disposition of the British nation, and of the character of its government, if they expected that

* *History of Europe.* Ninth edition, vol. v., p. 252.

any representations of a foreign power would ever induce them to consent to a violation of those rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded.'

This answer did not satisfy the domineering ruler of France; other causes of irritation also sprang up, as is always the case when either individuals or nations are in a state of mutual discontent; and consequently in little more than a year after the Peace of Amiens was signed, France and England were again at war.

Napoleon hastily struck the first blow by seizing Hanover. The brave Germans of that country felt no treacherous sympathy with the invaders; they fought manfully, but were taken by surprise, overmatched, and vanquished. The Hanoverian army was dissolved, the soldiers disbanded; the officers retained their side arms, those of the private soldiers were given up to the civil authorities. The troops thus let loose afterwards proved of essential service to the common cause. They were almost all received into the English service, and under the name of the King's German Legion, were to be seen side by side with the British regiments in every subsequent field of fame from Vimeira to Waterloo.*

By thus seizing and retaining Hanover, Napoleon attacked and possessed himself of a portion of the German Empire. Thus by one stroke he broke both the treaties of Luneville and Amiens. Moreover, in the most unscrupulous manner he occupied Hamburg and Bremen, and closed the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser against British merchant ships. The Emperor of Germany was too much depressed by a long series

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Ninth edition, vol. v., p. 189.

of misfortunes to resent openly this violation of the German confederation. Prussia remonstrated, but was herself too deeply implicated in her infatuated alliance with France to exert any restraining influence over that grasping power.

As to the inhabitants of the *ci-devant* electorate, the greatest sufferers from this sudden change, they felt it bitterly, for they were Germans handed over to France against their will, and forced to receive an influx of their conquerors into their towns and villages, and even into their homes. Their feelings, customs, and traditions were all German, the German language was their mother-tongue. It was most grievous to the country people, who were less accustomed to mixing with the people of other nations than were the burghers of the large commercial towns and ports. In the rural districts the feeling against France was bitter as could be; the owners of property, the occupiers and labourers living on the land, felt that it was German soil, as much as their hearts were German hearts. They formed a simple-minded population, patriarchal in their ideas and habits. When the Hanoverians felt the iron grasp of the conqueror, all classes unanimously blamed their rulers, and not without, at least, apparent justice, as far as the people could see. The supreme powers in London had too long delayed giving orders for the Hanoverian army to be called to arms; and after the order had arrived at Hanover the authorities there were very slow, allowing things to take their course, as if no emergency had to be speedily provided for. The order had come from England on the 8th of April, and the troops were not all in marching order until the 10th of May. Meanwhile an envoy had been

sent to Berlin to request the immediate aid of Prussia, but the proposals sent had been negatived. During that brief space of time, when Hanover was too calmly awaiting her impending fate, there was no man of spirit in a position to take the lead. Rudloff, a Cabinet Councillor, was the most influential man on the spot at the crisis. He had still trusted in that high-sounding but empty name 'the Holy Roman Empire;' he had felt convinced that the Emperor of Germany would never permit one of the electoral states of the Empire to fall into the hands of the French; he had leant on that idea, and had thus quieted the apprehensions of the people.

When the Hanoverians found themselves vanquished and enslaved, they were in despair, and groaned under the heavy burdens laid upon them by the victor without any regard to either justice or mercy. Napoleon, caring more for what he found in the land than for the land itself, despoiled the Castle of Herrenhausen of its beautiful works of art, and carried all the arms away from the arsenal.

In the space of time intervening between the 5th of July and the 23rd of December, he extorted no less than seventeen and a half millions of francs by means of his war levies, besides quartering his rude exacting officers on the peaceful inhabitants, who had also to endure a great deal of needless cruelty from Mortier, the first French commander in Hanover.* The wretched people felt that they had not deserved this hard fate: they had been true to the old empire of which their country formed a part, and loyal to their

* Hausser. Bernadotte, who succeeded Mortier as French Governor of Hanover, was more humane.

hereditary sovereign, but now in their helplessness they were abandoned. The Emperor of Germany had made no effort to save them; they had been wrested out of the hands of King George; he could not recover his hold upon them, and it was questionable whether he would ever do so in the future. They looked to the King of Prussia, and many who had been faithful subjects to King George would have hailed Frederick William as a deliverer if he would have made haste to take them out of the clutches of the hated French oppressors.

German historians generally consider that the King of Prussia, through his want of decision, committed a political error at this period of his reign, in not sending troops promptly to the Elbe and the Weser to contend with France on account of the seizure of Hanover. Hausser says—'By this want of quickness Prussia lost the moment in which she might have taken Hanover from France, but she may be excused, because she felt —why should she be the cat's-paw to take the chestnut out of the fire for England?' Hausser uses a German proverbial saying which has exactly that meaning.

Count Haugwitz, the Prussian Minister, may have been under the influence of such feeling, but surely all we know of the King's character should lead us to give him credit for having been restrained by a better motive: his intense love of peace, his persistent desire to preserve its blessings for his people, sufficiently accounts for his careful avoidance of war; and with a view to keeping the peace he had hitherto endeavoured to conciliate the most rapacious power in Europe. The Queen appears to have acquiesced, for on the entrance

of the year 1804, she accepted a very magnificent lace dress presented to her by Madame Bonaparte as a New Year's gift.*

In reading Bishop Eylert's interesting work on the Private Life and Opinions of Frederick William III., although political affairs are rarely alluded to, and then but lightly touched on, we clearly see that they weighed heavily on the King's mind, and that they harassed and saddened him: peculiarly blessed in his domestic life, he had no other severe troubles to bear up against. It has been said of this monarch that he loved his subjects better than their applause; that he was capable of making heroic self-sacrifices, by choosing that his people should blame him for cowardice, rather than that they should be injured by a too precipitate compliance with their desires.† His judgment was sometimes at fault, but that never arose through carelessness or hastiness; on the contrary, through extreme solicitude, which led him to devote too much time and thought to weighing all the pros and cons when a questionable matter presented itself.

Queen Louisa's cheerful disposition was an unfailing source of comfort to her husband, and the intellectual tastes with which both were gifted furnished refreshment to his anxious mind. Schiller was in those days doing almost as much to stir the mind of Germany as Shakespeare did in the Elizabethan era to stir the mind of England; and those authors alike attained not only a national but also a world-wide celebrity. *Joan of Arc* had been in circulation for two years; the spirited poem was universally read and admired, and this year it was acted for the first time at Weimar, on the 23rd

* Sir George Jackson. † Mrs Austin.

of April, 1803. Although Schiller's catastrophe is not consistent with the historical narrative, yet the play soon became uncommonly popular, for it fell in with the circumstances of the times, and with the opinions borne on the strong tide of current events. The 'Maid of Orleans,' as she is delineated by the genius of the poet, rose up again to bring cowardice into contempt, to advocate resistance, to exalt that noble love of the Fatherland which overrules the fear of death. The example of the devoted heroine of France was lifted up to rouse the people of Germany, even as in this our day the example of a Queen of Prussia has been cited by a Bishop of Orleans to encourage his fellow-countrymen; as another French author has said of Queen Louisa, 'Ses nobles conseils de courage, d'energie, de confiance s'adressent à la France.'* Here we see a mighty moral power proving itself stronger than the great power of nationality.†

Queen Louisa was quite the German woman, and her mind had been 'attired,' as Madame de Berg ex-

* 'I have re-read the history of that noble woman, and that of her nation, so humbled then by the terrible genius which since that time has kept suspended over France the menace of perpetual reprisals. The history has enlightened and strengthened me; I recommend it to those whom the sight of our misfortunes has too much cast down.'—*Letter of the Bishop of Orleans.*

Augustin Cochin has brought out the very remarkable parallel with great ability, although he writes under the influence of strong and warm patriotic feeling, intensified by the circumstances of the times; deeply loving and naturally preferring his own country.

† The strong effect produced on very different minds by Schiller's poem is remarkable. In the year 1809 a young fanatic, who had attempted to assassinate Napoleon, said to the judge, before whom he was brought for trial, 'I had chiefly studied history, and often envied Joan of Arc, because she had delivered France from the yoke of its enemies. I wished to follow her example.'—*Alison.*

presses it, by German historians and poets, chiefly by Schiller, Goethe, and Herder.

Goethe makes one of the princesses, in his *Tasso*, say, 'I am always happy to hear clever people conversing;' and these words describe Queen Louisa's taste; for, although she conversed sensibly, fluently, and without constraint, yet she preferred listening to expressing her own ideas. The King and Queen of Prussia both liked to gather round them literary and scientific men, and artists, whose hearts were in their work. Louisa never neglected Jean Paul Richter, whom in her girlhood she had first met at Hildburghausen; and that good, simple-minded man was worthy of Royal patronage, for his writings are among those which tend to purify the streams of thought, to open the fountain-springs of our higher life, and to awaken the noble passions of the soul. Both he and Gottlob Hiller were so destitute of the means of subsistence, that probably they would never have succeeded in the up-hill path which their genius led them to pursue, had not some powerful hand been held out to help them. Hiller came from the mining districts of Saxony, where his father gained an honest livelihood as a common carter. The young poet was discovered by Prince Radziwill, who introduced him to the King and Queen. With her usual consideration for the feelings of others the Queen, remembering that he was quite unaccustomed to ceremonious etiquette, advanced to meet him, and talked with him freely on topics likely to interest him. The next day Hiller received ten gold Fredericks, and two rings for his betrothal, which he had told the Queen was shortly to take place.

The Queen's ingenuousness and cordiality did away

with all constraint; and, by her intuitive power of idealizing and refining common occurrences, she elevated them into subjects worthy of consideration, and made them subservient in leading the conversation to topics of higher import. She ever sought to excite the interest of those presented to her, and to arouse the natural powers of those around her. If she failed in this she broke off the conversation as soon as she had in a few gentle tones said something pleasant. Every one quitted her presence with a pleasing impression, and none ever felt that they had been abruptly dismissed or overlooked. She had the art of embellishing, by her talent and feminine grace, every subject she touched upon—a most invaluable gift of nature to a sovereign. On occasions of great ceremony her manners were tinged with a sense of the responsibility of her position, and with becoming dignity. She received the ambassadors not only with the courtesy due to their rank, but also frequently held interesting conversations with them on topics which her perfect knowledge of the history of their several states enabled her to do with ease.*

Early in January, 1804, the King's youngest brother, Prince William, married Marianne, daughter of the Electoral Prince of Hesse-Homburg. That Princess, who was born at the Castle of Homburg, was nineteen years old at the time of her marriage. Von Stein thus describes her at the age of twenty-two: 'The Princess William unites with beauty and dignity a powerful, cultivated, and thoughtful mind; a deep, great, and noble character. Her appearance is but the impress of her mind, and combines purity, symmetry, and

* *Memoirs of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Richardson.

dignity. She is born near a throne, but she would ennoble and beautify any position in life, even were it the lowest. She received her education from her excellent father, who was her instructor and friend, and who early developed the germs of the great and good in her character. She was made acquainted with suffering and privation at an early age, for the French invasion drove her from her paternal home while she was yet a child.'

The Princess Marianne must have been about seven years old when the French, under Custine, entered Mayence; she clearly remembered her bed having been shaken by the guns. Yet, notwithstanding the national hostility, she was surrounded throughout her childhood by a combination of German and French influences. Her first playmate was one of a family of French emigrants; her first music-mistress was also a French lady, who, however, had taste enough to teach her among other things the choruses from Glück's *Iphigenie*. When she listened to the conversation of her parents she often heard French from her mother and German from her father, and she and her brothers and sisters were brought up under a combination of French and German influences. Her father was a very religious man; he had a great regard for Lavater, with whom he kept up friendly intercourse. In the character of this young Princess gracefulness and simplicity, and the strong and the gentle qualities of mind, were admirably blended, and grounded on firm religious principles. She was distinguished for her warm patriotism, and her heart was ever open to the reception of Divine truth.*

* See *Religious Life in Germany*, by William Baur.

Prince William's marriage took place in the Palace at Berlin on the 13th of January, 1804. A brilliant reception was given to the royal bride in the Prussian capital; but she felt embarrassed by it. So simply had she been brought up at Homburg that no one had ever been presented to her, and now there were great ceremonies in her honour. She loved her parental home and all its surroundings, she loved nature and simplicity, but the loss which she experienced in exchanging the mountains of the Taunus for the sands of Berlin, and the seclusion of her Homburg life for the courtly crowds of the noisy capital, was compensated by the warm affection of her husband. Called, like the Queen, to a brilliant royal court from the more retired circles of princely life—like her, she possessed that simplicity of character which enabled her to penetrate through the obstacles of etiquette to the sources of true life, and to appreciate whatever was noble in humanity.* Two such kindred spirits as those of the Queen and her new sister could but rejoice in the bond which so closely united them, and when the time of trial came they mutually cheered and supported each other.

We have dwelt on this matrimonial union because we have now before us two marriages through which two German Princes, in whom we are especially interested, trace their pedigrees—the husbands of Great Britain's Princess Royal and her Princess Alice. As the Crown Prince of Prussia, Prince Imperial of Germany, is a grandson of Frederick William III. and Queen Louisa, so likewise Prince Louis of Hesse is a grandson of

* This description of the Princess William of Prussia is drawn from *Religious Life in Germany*, by William Baur. The English translation, published by Strahan & Co.

Prince William of Prussia and the Princess Marianne of Hesse-Homburg.

Prince William's wedding was celebrated at Berlin with brilliant court festivities, which made the winter unusually gay, and on the Queen's birthday in that year, when she attained her twenty-eighth year, a grand fête was given in the theatre at Berlin. The mask, or fancy ball, was much like the one already described, except that ancient nations were represented on this occasion,—Medes and Persians, Scythians and Egyptians. The Queen acted the part of Statira, the daughter of Darius, in the quadrille called 'Alexander's return from his Indian victories.'

There was another entertainment, which is now such a curious relic of by-gone days that it is worth describing. It was called 'The Metamorphosis of the Chrysalis.' Sixteen young ladies wrapped in grey coverings, represented so many caterpillars in the chrysalis state, revolving slowly with constrained movements in a species of complicated knot. On the Queen's approach these figures were suddenly divested of their exterior disguise, and came forth as gay butterflies with gossamer wings fluttering in the bright light, and to the tones of soft music joining in a dance which was intended to convey the impression of buoyancy and freedom.*

A concluding tableau, which terminated the fantastic scene, was called 'The Dance of the Hours.' Twelve young girls danced round the Queen with waving movements to strew for her a path of flowers; then they danced on merrily till break of day, till the real

* *Memoirs of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Richardson. 2nd edition, pp. 126, 127.

light came streaming in, overpowering the artificial. No one thought that this flattering compliment would mark the last gay birthday, almost the last hour of such exciting joy, which Queen Louisa had to spend on earth. 'The moment of the great catastrophe was approaching, but adversity was to find the mother of the country firm and courageous, as she was smiling and sympathizing before the storm.'*

And when she had passed on with the passing hours out of the glaring sunshine of prosperity, gleams of more genuine pleasure glanced across her darkened path, and we shall yet see her enjoying other recreations more in harmony with her real character.

Five days after this 10th of March, a startling outrage against the laws of justice and humanity was committed by Napoleon, which made every one shudder and remember the awful 'Reign of Terror.' A plot had been discovered, the object of which was to overthrow the existing government of France and to restore monarchy and the Bourbons. The conspirators were moreover suspected of a design against the life of the First Consul. Some of them were taken, and their confessions led the authorities to think that the Duke d'Enghein was an accomplice; there were grounds for suspecting that he was aware of the conspiracy, and to some extent implicated in it, but it was never proved that he had done, or intended to do, anything worthy of death. He never had a fair and open trial, he was dealt with secretly, and everything connected with the horrible transaction was done under cover of darkness. The Duke had a house at Ettenheim, where a large number of French emigrants had congregated. Here

* Augustin Cochin.

he appeared to lead a harmless life, spending a great deal of time in cultivating and planting his garden and grounds. Being a grandson of the Prince of Condé he was placed by birth in the first rank of military emigrants, and was looked upon as one of the most noble in every sense of the word. On the 15th of March the Duke was arrested at Ettenheim, and thence he was conveyed as a prisoner to the citadel of Strasbourg. On the 18th he was removed to Vincennes secretly, and at night a council assembled in the castle to try him, or rather to condemn him without trial, and at day-break on the 21st he was shot in the trenches at Vincennes. As he was being taken down a gloomy passage he imagined that he was to be secretly assassinated, but when led outside he there saw the men selected to form the firing party; he uttered a cry of surprise, and said he was glad to die a soldier's death.*

A few years afterwards it was clearly proved that the Duke d'Enghein had been himself the object of a diabolical plot. In 1814, a paper was found in the secret drawer of a cabinet in the Emperor's bed-room at Saint Cloud, which threw light on the dark transactions connected with the sad fate of that unfortunate prince. This important paper was a memorial, or argument, written by the infamous senator Fouché; it fully set forth the advantages which would accrue from putting to death the distinguished prince of the house of Bourbon, Condé. In this memorial Fouché ex-

* Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon Condé was the son of Louis Henri Joseph Duc de Bourbon Condé, and Louise Marie Thérèse d'Orleans. He was grandson to the Prince de Condé, under whom he had received his military training. Born at Chantilly, August 2nd, 1772. Shot at Vincennes, March 21st, 1804, aged 34 years.

presses the opinion that 'France is not yet ripe for republican government—the people, the *bourgeois*, and above all, the army, want to serve a man and not an idea—they understand a king because they can see him; a republic is an abstraction, and consequently appears always absent, and attracts no attachment. With a king, on the contrary, they know where he is, where he lives, at what hours he may be found; they like to see him pass in the street, to receive a gracious salutation. Dining with a king at a grand banquet, and all the splendid scenes of a court, are pleasures which can never be replaced by the mysterious and severe forms of a republic. Since, then, the French people require royalty, it is necessary to give it back to them. But royalty cannot exist without a king. Who is the king who should be given to France? shall we give back the Bourbons? France has done too much wrong to the Bourbons, and in these late years the Bourbons have done too much wrong to France, for reconciliation to be possible: the Bourbons must be set aside for ever. . . . Let the First Consul, then, be King, Emperor, the Cæsar, the President of France: of what importance is the title? The First Consul is certain to arrive at sovereign power—but will he maintain it? Let us examine the obstacles.' . . . . Here many objections are brought forward, and the example of General Monk is cited as one which still influences the minds of men. 'If the First Consul desire to secure to himself the heads of the two opposing parties (and these heads are indispensable to him), he ought to give a guarantee—such a guarantee as crossing the rubicon, which cannot be recrossed. He must, like a new Fernando Cortez, burn his vessels to

make a return impossible. What then is this positive guarantee? Here it is.

" 'Close to the frontiers lives a Bourbon, Condé, the only one of that heroic branch which can have posterity. The Duke d'Enghein is the irreconcilable enemy of the First Consul, because a party formed of men holding all kinds of opinions has offered the crown to that prince. He has numerous friends and partisans; Dumouriez, Pichegru, Moreau are his men: several secret meetings have taken place in his interest; the Duke D'Enghein has lately come twice to Paris, and he often goes to Strasbourg; he desires nothing so ardently as the death of the First Consul.

'If the Duke d'Enghein, this dangerous and malicious enemy, were to be surprised in France, arrested, judged according to the laws, condemned by them, for it could be so, his blood might be shed as the certain guarantee of an irreconcilable rupture between the First Consul and the Bourbons; then the republicans would no longer fear a compact between their new and their ancient rulers, and that the one might give them up to the vengeance of the other. The royalists, seeing that henceforward reconciliation between you and the Bourbons is an impossibility, will not wait for it, will not delay their submission. Lay that one head in the dust, and the new throne is consolidated, and will be immediately surrounded by the strong and illustrious men who made the republic and who will support you. Reflect on this, and give us this guarantee. It is at this price you can obtain a peaceful reign, and gain over those who would always have distrusted a compact without a foundation. *In one word, blood is the best of all cements.*'

Napoleon meditated for a long time on this advice, and at last decided on following it. No doubt the discovery of a conspiracy, which certainly aimed at overturning his government, and probably endangered his life, exasperated him, and urged him on to the fatal determination. Fouché and Talleyrand were among the councillors summoned to form the tribunal which condemned the Duke d'Enghein. The latter describes the proceedings, and declares that he himself endeavoured to save the unfortunate accused, and that Cambacérés courageously maintained his opinion that the Duke was innocent of the bloodthirsty crime laid to his charge; that, on the contrary, he had offended his friends and relations by refusing to enter into their intrigues. But Napoleon would have the last over-ruling word at this mock-tribunal. 'I am,' said he, 'of the same opinion as the senator Fouché; his advice is good and serviceable, and I intend to make use of it; what surprises me is that on such a matter there is not unanimity of sentiments.' '*Je le veux.*'*

When the murder had been committed even Napoleon's most ardent admirers felt that he had stained his honour and dimmed his glory by this deed of darkness. All Europe looked upon it as an atrocious crime, which was the more reprobated because the Duke d'Enghein was personally distinguished as well as high-born. As a nobleman and a soldier he bore the highest reputation; he was amiable as well as talented, and gifted with those external advantages

* Chacun essaya de maintenir son opinion, de la défendre; mais enfin un *Je le veux*, fortment articulé, termina tout; il ne fut plus question que d'obéissance. Fouché triompha, nous sortimes tous atterrés.'—*Mémoires du Prince De Talleyrand Périgord.* Paris, 1839.

which attract the attention of the world. Although his last hours were shrouded in mystery and darkness, yet his words were openly repeated, and it was well known that he died as he had lived, gentle, dignified, and brave.

The high-minded, generous Emperor of Russia, who much admired the Duke, was astounded by the unexpected news of his tragical death. That act of cruel despotism shook to its very foundations Alexander's chivalrous confidence in his ideal hero, the First Consul of France. It opened the King of Prussia's eyes, who thenceforward took a more correct view of Napoleon's character than he had hitherto done. Ettenheim, where the Duke resided, and where he had been arrested, is in Baden, between the Black Forest and the Rhine, and that country was under the protection of Frederick William, who therefore felt personally concerned in the deplorable event. Indignant at the slight put upon himself, as well as shocked by the barbarous outrage, he wrote a very spirited letter to Napoleon, complaining of the violation of the neutral territory. The proud despot felt no more respect for the King of Prussia than for the Margrave of Baden; he had said, 'If the Margrave of Baden be angry let him declare war against us, we shall soon settle affairs with him.'*

Nevertheless Napoleon condescended to instruct his ambassadors at the different courts to explain this strange occurrence, so as to justify the sentence of death and its prompt execution. M. Lafôret, a French minister in Berlin, began a conversation with M. de Haugwitz on the subject. He was immediately

* *Mémoires du Prince De Talleyrand Périgord.* Paris, 1839.

silenced; Haugwitz begged him to drop the subject, saying that the King of Prussia was so deeply afflicted by the intelligence that he would not wish to make any communication to him respecting it.*

Johannes Müller the historian, a native of Switzerland, was at Berlin in this summer of 1804, doing his utmost to kindle the flames of war. Shall it be war or continued submission to the French Emperor? was a question over which many persons got very much excited. In overpoweringly hot weather Müller went to Charlottenburg, hoping to engage the Queen's attention and to secure her influence on the side of war. It seems that Müller could not gain such free access to the Queen and converse with her on the subject as he desired to do. Her Majesty was much occupied with other matters, and Müller was disappointed in the apparent result of his endeavours. When unable to speak with the Queen he sought her brother, but the Crown Prince of Mecklenburg did not enter earnestly into Müller's views. That prince was not fired with military enthusiasm, but with love for the fine arts, and he preferred the society of the gentle poet Matthisson, who was his great favourite. The Prince of Mecklenburg was extremely fond of music; in after years he took great pleasure in hearing the sweet voices of the Countess Rossi, known as Madame Sontag, and Schroder Davrent. The tramp of horses and the thunders of war did not harmonize with his tastes, so his imagination did not fly to arms at the blast of Johannes Müller's war horn.†

* Sir George Jackson's *Diaries and Letters*. Bentley, London, 1872.

† *Louise, Eine Deutsche Königin*. Von Ludwig Brunier. Bremen, 1871. In 1817, Prince George married a princess of Hesse-Cassel. His eldest

On the 13th of December, A.D. 1804, the Queen of Prussia added another son to her family, who was baptized on the 6th of January in the following year, by the names of Frederick Julius Ferdinand Leopold. Before the Queen had fully regained her strength it was severely tried by the dangerous illness of her husband's mother. The Queen Dowager, who was at her palace near Potsdam, was attacked by paralysis on the 26th of January, and never recovered from the stroke, although she lingered for several weeks, suffering with fever which had ensued.

Since the death of her husband Queen Frederica had usually resided either at Potsdam or at Freyenwalde (a Prussian Tunbridge Wells), between Berlin and Stettin, in the most beautiful part of the province of Brandenburg, where it is watered by the Oder. Queen Frederica had always liked Freyenwalde; during her husband's lifetime she had occasionally stayed in a forester's house, as there was then no royal chateau there. The old palace built by the Great Elector had been converted into a school-house, Frederick I. having given it up, not wishing to maintain it as one of his residences. Queen Frederica when she had become a widow had interested and occupied herself in planning, erecting, and furnishing a castle, and planting the surrounding grounds. She was apt to be lavish in her expenditure, but the King, though so economical himself, was always very liberal towards his mother; he was glad to see her recruiting her spirits with healthful recreations, and never allowed her to feel the consequences of extravagance. He felt comforted himself

son is the present Grand Duke, who married the Princess Augusta of Cambridge.

in doing all he could to make her latter years happier than those of her married life; and she returned this affectionate attention by the respect with which she treated his father's memory. No expressions of bitter recollections ever passed her lips. She was exceedingly fond of her grandchildren, especially of the Crown Prince, who was often sent to visit her at Freyenwalde; he was a very engaging child; somewhat too sensitive, yet full of vivacity and good humour.

Queen Frederica died on the 25th of February, A.D. 1805, having attained her fifty-fourth year. She was mercifully taken to her rest before the heavy trials came on the nation and the Royal Family. In accordance with the wish she had expressed, her funeral was not pompously conducted. She was buried in Berlin cathedral on the 4th of March; and on the 17th, agreeably with an old German custom observed on the death of a king or queen, a funeral sermon was preached in every church throughout the monarchy on one specified passage of Holy Scripture. On this occasion it was Rev. xiv. 13: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.' The King selected the text, and sent it to Bishop Sack. It was not inappropriate, for the deceased Queen had liberally supported philanthropic institutions, and promoted good works: her charity was expansive and genuine, and many incidents are recorded which bear witness to her kindness of heart. When Freyenwalde Castle had lost its foundress who delighted in it, it was seldom used as a royal residence. But after the battle of Jena, when the King and Queen, their children and other members of the Royal Family, were obliged to quit Berlin, they

assembled at Freyenwalde, and also when their Majesties were returning from Memel to their liberated capital they rested at that castle. Frederick William IV., who never forgot the happy days of early childhood which he had spent with his grandmother in that palace, wished and intended to restore it, but never found the convenient opportunity for doing so; his span of strength and life was not a lengthened one. The castle is now used only as a hunting-seat. In the thirty-two rooms are still to be seen many curious and interesting objects collected by Queen Frederica; the pictures are valuable, chiefly the landscapes, but there are a few good portraits, and among them one of Queen Louisa, which represents her as she looked at the time of her marriage, like a lovely rose opening in the sweet sunshine of spring.*

* *Churfürstinnen und Königinnen auf dem Throne der Hohenzollern.* Ernst Dan. Mart. Kirchner. Berlin, 1870.

CHAPTER VI.

NOTWITHSTANDING the sincere esteem and warm admiration which the Emperor Alexander had felt for Napoleon, in the course of time events had occurred which had produced a coldness, and which led at last to an open rupture. Alexander was too honourable a man to approve of the unscrupulous conduct of Napoleon, of his disregard of the conditions of treaties to which he had pledged himself, and of the tyrannical measures he adopted. The grief and indignation excited by the execution of the Duke d'Enghein completed the change of feeling. On that occasion the courts of St Petersburg and Stockholm expressed their sentiments by going into deep mourning. The impulse given by this deed, not less impolitic than criminal, to the fermenting elements of a coalition against France was immense.* Alexander entered into a correspondence with Napoleon on the subject, but the answers to his letters were in the highest degree insulting and contemptuous, and

* 'The murder of the Duke d'Enghein lighted again the flames of continental war, and induced that terrible strife which ultimately brought the Tartars of the desert to the walls of Paris: from it may be dated the commencement of that train of events which precipitated Napoleon from the throne of Charlemagne to the rock of St Helena.'—Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. v., p. 339.

altogether quite unsatisfactory. The Russian Cabinet, now fully awakened to the danger arising from the evident resolution of the First Consul to extend his power over the whole continent, felt very angry at the personal slights put upon their Emperor in his correspondence with Napoleon. Alexander was much beloved by his own people; they were justly proud of him, and all Russia became irritated against France, determined to resist her encroachments, and to defy the arrogant assumption of her chief ruler. Such was the state of feeling when the accession of Napoleon to the imperial throne was notified to the Court of St Petersburg. The Emperor of Russia refused to recognize Napoleon's new title, although it had already been acknowledged by the Emperor of Germany; but Francis had his own ends in view, which he carried out with great address. He had long wished to assume the title of Emperor of Austria, and to make it hereditary: Accordingly, on the 11th of August, 1804, immediately after Francis in full council had recognized the title of the Emperor Napoleon, he assumed for himself and his successors in the Austrian dominions that of Emperor of Austria. The step was justified 'on the precedent formerly afforded by the assumption of the Imperial Crown by the Czars of Russia, and more recently by the ruling sovereign of France;' and though it at first excited jealousy among the lesser princes of Germany, yet soon they all acknowledged the new hereditary title of the Emperor: and ere long all the potentates of Europe acquiesced.*

* The French government, and those under their influence, readily acknowledged the title of the Emperor of Austria, because it gave some countenance to the assumption of the imperial dignity by the ruler of

Napoleon, anticipating an immediate rupture with Russia, saw that it was of the utmost importance to him to secure, if not the alliance, at least the neutrality, of Prussia, in order that a barrier might be opposed to the march of the Muscovite troops across the north of Germany. He succeeded in leading Prussia to enter into an agreement promising to maintain a strict neutrality, and not to permit the march of Russian or any other foreign troops across her territories. The French Emperor lured on the King and the ministers of Prussia till they had allowed themselves to become entangled in meshes from which it was not easy to get free.

But before the close of that year, 1804, a change occurred in the Prussian ministry, which led to a material alteration in its foreign policy. Count Haugwitz, who for ten years had been the chief director of its diplomatic relations, and whose leaning towards the French alliance had been conspicuous throughout the whole of his administration, in consequence of ill health retired to his estates in Silesia, and the chief direction of affairs fell upon Baron Hardenberg, a statesman of great ability, who was known to be decidedly hostile to the revolutionary principle, the devastating effects of which he had had ample opportunities of observing in the course of his diplomatic career, and whose inclination towards the English and Russian alliance was expected to produce important effects on the fate of northern Europe.*

France. Those who opposed Napoleon gladly acknowledged Francis as Emperor of Austria, because they hoped the imperial dignity in Austria would counterpoise the same thing in France. See Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. v., p. 313.

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Ninth edition, vol. v., p. 314.

Sir George Jackson, who was residing at Berlin, tells us that the friends of the ex-minister Haugwitz endeavoured to interest the Queen on his behalf, as it had lately been observed that Her Majesty had on various occasions shown a disposition to obtain some influence in public affairs. 'This,' says Sir George, 'has excited some murmurs against the Queen, from the supposition that she has been prevailed on to countenance the French party.* Hardenberg was both clear and far-sighted, moderate, and very prudent.' He thought it wise not to make any great, immediate, sudden changes, but rather to temporize, and to prepare the way for pursuing a different line of policy from that which his predecessor had maintained. Hardenberg did not like to see Hanover occupied by French troops; he felt it was both an insult and an injury to the whole German Empire, with which the King of Prussia was connected as Elector of Brandenburg. Hanover, being an electoral state, should be protected, he thought, by all the other states of the Empire. He suggested that either Saxon or Hessian or Prussian troops should be quartered in Hanover until a general treaty of peace could be negotiated, and the territories of the several countries re-adjusted by common consent.†

* Alison expresses the opinion that the English and Russian alliance was already warmly espoused by the Queen, but this does not agree with the statement in Sir George Jackson's Diary written at Berlin and at that time. See *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, published by Bentley, London, 1872.

† In the year 1805 there was a suspicion that Prussia intended to take military possession of the Electorate of Hanover. At that time Hardenberg asserted that the French had made no such proposal, but that if made, it would be acceded to; it being for the advantage of the country, as well as for England, to whom it would be restored at a general peace.

Napoleon showed an invincible repugnance to quitting his hold on Hanover, which he had won by the sword, and was grasping by the right of conquest. All the states which formed the German Empire felt themselves aggrieved, and were alarmed by seeing one of the electoral states thus trampled on by France. The Prussian ministers extracted a promise from Napoleon that the number of French troops in the Electorate should not exceed 30,000 men, in return for which promise the King of Prussia engaged that France should not be invaded from the side of his dominions.

Frederick William still endeavoured to avoid war with France. Ever since his accession to the throne he had maintained peace, in spite of extraordinary difficulties, and by conceding that foremost position in which Frederick the Great had placed himself and Prussia. More than eight years of tranquillity had done much for the internal prosperity of the kingdom, had also given time for the regenerated court to leaven society, to purify and refine it throughout all its grades. Time and prudence had also replenished the treasury, but Prussia was not yet wealthy enough to bear the expenses incidental to a great war. As to the army of Frederick, its glory and its pride remained, and all Prussia trusted in it, except, perhaps, the King himself: but timidity was generally considered to be his weak point. Therefore his best friends and his nearest relations believed that he ought to feel confidence in the military strength of the country which had gained such high renown on hardly-contested battle-fields.

Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, published by Bentley, London, 1872.

Not quite twenty years had elapsed since the death of Frederick the Great, and those who cherished his memory could not conceive it possible that the spirit of the army was not what it had been in his day, that his tactics had been superseded by those of another victorious warrior, and that most of his renowned officers had outlived the vigour of manhood. Prince Louis Ferdinand was still full of ardour; he had grown up under the eye of his illustrious uncle, a thorough soldier and an accomplished gentleman, and the glorious memories of bygone days made him chafe with impatience under the peaceful policy of his cousin Frederick William.

In moments of vexation the Prince took no pains to conceal his discontent, he was only too ready to be at once the agitator and chief leader of what was commonly called the war party. The Queen was one of many who thought his arguments convincing, and who admired his zeal and his devoted patriotism. And, as we have seen, there had been points of time and turns of fortune at which, if those arguments had been maintained and acted on, the power of Napoleon might have been checked, before it had become irresistible; but it was now too late. It is said of Prince Louis Ferdinand, that being one day in the museum at Berlin, he observed a marble bust, next to one of the King, and he asked the director whom that bust was intended to represent. The latter with a broad Swiss pronunciation answered, 'The god of war, *Marsch*' (Mars). 'Oh,' said the Prince, laughing and pointing to the bust of the King, 'and this is the god Halt!' Yet the King saw the necessity of being prepared for war in that unsettled state of European affairs. He

never neglected to review his troops, and for that purpose, soon after the funeral of his mother, he went to Magdeburg. Several reviews took place in the spring of 1805, at which French officers were present, by invitation. The King of Prussia no doubt wished it to be understood that these grand military exhibitions were not to be looked upon as indicating a desire to break the existing peace. The Countess Von Voss wrote from Magdeburg that Bernadotte had excused himself from attending the review on account of indisposition, but Berthier was there, of whom she remarked, *'Il est très poli, mais du reste pas grande chose.'* *

From Magdeburg the King, accompanied by the Queen, went on to Halberstadt. That old city agreeably presents its towers and romantic-looking buildings to persons coming from Magdeburg. Their Majesties thence proceeded on an excursion to the Hartz mountains, but the weather was so inclement for the season, that at the end of May a snow-storm prevented the Royal travellers from enjoying the ascent of the Brocken, which on a clear day gives amazingly wild, extensive views. But now they were to be dazzled by facing, not the glorious sunshine, but the cold reality of drifting flakes, which left them no chance of being charmed by the curious atmospheric illusions for which those mountains are famous.† They retreated to Alexanderbad in Baireuth, where the Queen commenced a course of mineral waters.

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson.* Bentley, London, 1872.

† The famous spectre of the Brocken is an atmospheric illusion. On that highest summit of the Hartz spectral appearances are sometimes seen, especially a gigantic reflection of the spectator's figure, and of surrounding objects, upon the white veil of mist which envelopes the mountain at early dawn.

On account of the delicate state of her Majesty's health, this summer was spent more quietly than usual. When the Queen was again at Charlottenburg she had the pleasure of receiving a visit from her brother. We find a letter from Prince George of Mecklenburg to Frau Rath Goethe, written at Charlottenburg on the 20th of August—a letter full of kindness, and conveying a friendly message from the Queen. It seems intended to cheer the good old lady under the trials of failing strength, for the Prince tells her he hopes she will yet live many years on this earth, that he may have the pleasure of knocking glasses with her, and of chatting over old times when he passes through Frankfort.

The King and Queen of Prussia at this time gave some attention to the new science of phrenology which Dr Gall was beginning to develop. The Queen became interested in the subject, and gratified the doctor by presenting him with a valuable diamond ring. Dr Gall's system did not lead to materialism, he only strove to prove that men are born with diverse dispositions and inclinations, but he always added that religion and morality can modify, correct, and bring to perfection. There was nothing new in that which could be controverted, except as regards the experiences and signs by which these different dispositions and inclinations are made known.* The phrenologist was a large, stern-looking man, usually dressed in black.

Napoleon Bonaparte had assumed the titles of Emperor of France and King of Italy. He had been solemnly anointed and crowned in the cathedral of

* Madame de Genlis.

Notre Dame at Paris, by Pope Pius VII., and also crowned at Milan. The Emperor had appointed his step-son, Eugène Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy, thereby assuming power not in accordance with the conditions of the treaty of Luneville. The Emperor of Austria, alarmed and enraged by this violation, readily listened to the proposals of William Pitt, who was forming a coalition between England, Russia, and Sweden. Austria now joined, and the allies resolved on attacking the French at every point, but they were not ready to strike instantly, and Napoleon was too sharp for them. Soon after his coronation he got up a most magnificent military spectacle at Boulogne, the head-quarters of his grand army. The naval review was less successful, as a violent tempest arose, the wind blew with terrific force and stranded several vessels. Napoleon retired, chagrined and out of humour. All the splendour of his military display could not console him for the rude manner in which he had been reminded of his weakness on the sea, which required to be subdued before his dreams of universal conquest could be realized. From Boulogne the Emperor went to Ostend, and thence to Mayence, where he received the congratulatory addresses of all the eastern provinces of France, and of all the lesser German provinces on the right bank of the Rhine, which he was already preparing to mould into the frontier bulwark of his dominions. It was here that he first brought to maturity the design he had already formed of a Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France, which would practically amount to an extension of his power into the heart of Germany. Napoleon had spent all the autumn of 1804 at this great frontier

fortress, and while to the public eye he seemed engaged only in matters of parade and magnificence, receiving the congratulations of the adjoining states on his accession to the imperial throne, he was really occupied incessantly with those vast designs which ere long led to such memorable results by land and sea. The Emperor returned to his capital, and on the 2nd of August, 1805, he again left Paris for the camp at Boulogne. His appearance there produced great effects. His own soldiers and sailors were exhilarated by the idea of being led to the shores of Great Britain, and the English people were thrown into a perfect panic; yet, notwithstanding the extraordinary excitement, they kept themselves cool enough to make systematic, though rapid, preparations to receive the expected invaders. Appearances were very threatening, for Napoleon had collected all his vessels in the Channel—a formidable fleet. The British government, alarmed at the state of public feeling, ordered their minister at the Court of Vienna to signify to the Austrian government that it was necessary they should immediately commence hostilities against the French, otherwise they would forfeit their right to the promised subsidies from England. It was in vain that the Austrian ministers pleaded that they were not yet ready, and declared that they must await the arrival of the Russians. England, pressed by the dread of invasion, persisted in her demands, and the Emperor Francis was obliged to accede to a precipitate opening of the campaign which proved so disastrous to him.

Sir Archibald Alison is of opinion that this was indeed a very critical moment with Great Britain; that Napoleon really meditated an invasion, that the British

monarchy was then in greater jeopardy than it had stood in since the battle of Hastings.

Great excitement prevailed all over Europe. Sir George Jackson, who was at that time residing in Berlin, wrote thus in his Diary on the 12th of September: 'War is the general topic. How Prussia can stand aloof nobody knows, except perhaps the King. General Duroc is here, and the little man is no doubt doing his best to turn the mouth of the Prussian cannon against us. He pays great court to the Queen. There is a story abroad that having greatly admired a scarf which Her Majesty herself had embroidered, she requested his acceptance of it for Madame Duroc.' *

In those days Queen Louisa evidently avoided identifying herself with any party. She did not side with those who desired to see Prussia unsheath the sword against France. The Queen loved peace and all its blessings, which she had fully enjoyed in a bright and thankful spirit. It was not until the ambition of an insatiable despot had brought the affairs of Europe into a desperate state, that her gentle woman's heart was fired with an ardent desire to resist further aggression, and the heroism of her disposition was signally displayed. When grieving over the misery she saw her husband endure, because, being placed in a most perplexing position, he could not decide on his course of action, the Queen listened to those who volunteered advice on either side, wishing to throw the weight of her influence into the right scale, to end the terrible suspense. In September the King consented to admit General Marfelt, the Austrian ambassador, to an in-

* See *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, published by Bentley, London, 1872.

terview. 'His Majesty,' says Sir George Jackson, 'had not a word to say for himself; he indeed improved upon everything General Marfelt said against Bonaparte, and in favour of our opposition to him, but always ended with "I cannot decide upon war."' *

Some persons mistook the wavering and timid policy of the King of Prussia for cowardice, but those who knew him better vindicated him warmly, feeling that in his case there was no deficiency of personal bravery.†

Napoleon having become aware of the strong coalition which was forming against him by Sweden, Russia, and Austria combining with England, had suddenly withdrawn his troops from Boulogne, where they had been watching the coast of Kent. He hurried them across the Rhine to Wurtemberg, where a sanguinary engagement was fought near Ulm on the Danube. The Austrian army was terribly cut to pieces, and General Mack was captured by the enemy.

It was just at this crisis of European affairs, towards the end of October, 1805, that the Emperor Alexander made a friendly visit to Frederick William. The Czar had invited the King to visit him at St Petersburg, but the latter had declined on the plea that he could not at that moment leave his capital. Alexander then intimated his intention of going to Berlin, and at the same time requested that all ceremonies might be omitted on the occasion. Orders were therefore given that the guns should not salute, but the King's brothers and several generals and staff-officers went to meet his Imperial Majesty, and the King's carriages were

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, published by Bentley, London, 1871. Vol. i. p. 325.

† Ibid.

sent a certain distance from the city for the Emperor's use. It was said that three days would be the extent of the visit. The records were searched for precedents of the etiquette observed on any similar occasion. But as no Russian Emperor had visited Berlin since the time of Peter the Great, who came in the suite of his own ambassador, little or nothing was found in the usages of that day applicable to those of the present.*

Alexander arrived at Berlin on the 25th of October, about two o'clock. The governor and commandant were waiting to welcome him at the city gate; and an immense assemblage of people filled the streets to see him pass; they gave him a noisy and no doubt a very hearty welcome. Indeed if the tumultuous joy which then reigned throughout Berlin might be said to mean anything, it declared that the whole city was delighted at His Imperial Majesty's visit. The King and Queen, the whole of the Royal Family, and the Court were assembled at the palace to receive their illustrious guest; but the peculiar position in which the French mission was placed prevented any invitations from being sent to the *corps diplomatique*. Between three and four the Emperor and their Majesties left Berlin for Potsdam.†

Alexander gave private audiences to the ministers of Russia, England, Austria, and Turkey, and graciously received the ministers of other friendly states. His Imperial Majesty, not wishing to receive all the honours due to him as the Czar of Russia, assumed the title of *Comte du Nord*, and under it he visited the members of

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. i. p. 354.

† Ibid.

the Royal family and enjoyed the various entertainments prepared for the occasion. On one evening he went with their Majesties to the theatre, where he was received with a marked enthusiasm rarely evinced by the public of Berlin. People of all classes were praising the Czar; for his was a manner that wins popularity: much affability, which without losing dignity does not oppress by apparent condescension.*

His Imperial Majesty went to see the arsenal and other public buildings and institutions in Berlin, yet business was not neglected. The members of his suite were constantly occupied in writing, or in otherwise executing his orders, and many couriers daily arrived from and departed to his capital, and to the different Russian armies. The Emperor had arranged to leave Potsdam, when Metternich unexpectedly arrived to inform the King of Prussia that the Archduke of Austria was on his road making a hurried journey from Vienna. The King immediately ordered that Sans-Souci should be prepared for the reception of the Prince; and Alexander remained to meet him.

There can be no doubt but that the object of the Emperor's visit was to persuade the King of Prussia to break with France, and to join in the coalition against that ambitious power. Before Frederick William had entered into any kind of treaty with France, before it was understood that Bonaparte would insist on an alliance between France and Prussia, it was openly said in Berlin by the party who inclined towards the French, that Prussia must choose between the alliance and hostility of France and Russia, for that things were come to a point that admitted of no other

* Ibid.

alternative.* Napoleon had forced Frederick William into consenting to a treaty, but he had since given him a pretext for dissolving it; for he had himself repeatedly disregarded its conditions by violating neutral territory, and against this the King of Prussia had repeatedly remonstrated. When the Duke d'Enghein, and afterwards Sir George Rumbolt, the English minister at Hamburg, had been arrested on neutral ground, the King of Prussia had boldly expressed his surprise and indignation at these infractions of the treaty. And now utterly disregarding it in prosecuting the campaign against the allied nations, Napoleon had marched his troops, commanded by Bernadotte, through the territories of Anspach which belonged to Prussia; and to this unjustifiable proceeding his uninterrupted success might be in some degree attributable. The vanquished naturally looked upon it as one of the principal causes of their calamities; and immediately after the battle of Ulm the Emperor Alexander had set out for Potsdam to confer with Frederick William. A few days later the Archduke Antoine arrived there, sent by his brother the Emperor Francis. An agreement was concluded between the three powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, whereby Prussia promised to send 180,000 men into the field if Napoleon should refuse to consent to the conditions to be proposed by the allies.

In pursuing this new line of policy the sovereign acted quite in accordance with public feeling throughout the country, which was decidedly in favour of war. The King and Queen of Prussia entertained the Em-

* See Sir George Jackson's *Diaries and Letters*, vol. i. pp. 407, 408. Bentley, London, 1871.

peror of Russia for ten days. Although cheered by the friendly intercourse and occupied with the discussion of affairs which more nearly concerned themselves, yet they must have thought and spoken of our melancholy triumph. Great Britain was burying Nelson—conveying the mortal remains of her noble admiral over sea and land to the appointed resting-place, with every conceivable expression of the nation's feeling. The minute incidents of the battle of Trafalgar and the hero's last words to the fleet were being repeated by many tongues in every European language. Nobody thought of a young *signal midshipman* who calmly hoisted the signals in the midst of the greatest danger, surrounded by the wounded and the dying. He was worthy to do the duty assigned to him that day, for now the name of Sir John Franklin is as well known as that of Horatio Nelson.

The Emperor of Russia stayed with the King of Prussia until the night between the 4th and 5th of November. While they were for the last time supping together *en famille,* in the Palace at Potsdam, Alexander expressed his regret that he had not visited the tomb of Frederick the Great. 'There is yet time,' said the King, and he immediately gave orders for the church to be lighted. The Royal vault, being under a gallery, is level with the church; the massive, elaborately sculptured marble pulpit projects over the door of the sepulchre—a cloister-like cell with a low vaulted roof. This is so small that as you enter there is only room to pass between the black marble sarcophagus of Frederick William I. on the left hand, and the utterly plain zinc one of Frederick the Great on the right. The perfectly unadorned simplicity of the

sepulchral chamber solemnly contrasts with the magnificence of the church.

Alexander and Frederick William stood beside the tomb. Who can say whether the promise and the prayer were uttered or unexpressed? They looked around, marking how death subdues, and circumscribes, and reigns—believing in the limits appointed unto the power of the last enemy that shall be destroyed, and in the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. Meanwhile tyranny must be resisted and freedom asserted, they thought. The midnight chime ringing out its canticle awakened hopes in harmony with faith and trust in God, connecting heaven and earth.*

Under the strong impressions which such a scene could not fail to make, the little party returned to the church; they wished to remember it as long as they lived, and they did so. Queen Louisa's tears were not forgotten; her husband and his friend always reverenced her unselfish sorrows, and this sentiment became almost as a religious one after she had been called away to reap the harvest of everlasting joy for which we sow in tears.

This adventure is said to have originated with the Queen, but that is an unimportant point which cannot be positively ascertained. The Emperor Alexander was as chivalrous as any hero prince of the olden time; all the features of his character as well as those of Queen Louisa's were tinged with a glow of romance. The imagination in which such fancies and projects are devised, although it often fails before other faculties lose their power, is nevertheless a good and

* The Emperor of Russia took leave of Their Majesties in the vault in which the remains of Frederick II. are deposited. *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson.* See vol. i. p. 365.

beautiful quality of our nature, capable of sanctification, and wonderfully adapted to urge us forward towards the attainment of high and holy purposes.

The Emperor of Russia's travelling carriage was waiting for him at the door of the Garrison church on that dark November night. He went on to Weimar and Dresden, and was proceeding towards Prague, when he received intelligence which induced him to change his route, and to take the road viâ Bautzen and Breslau to Olmutz, where the Emperor of Germany and his Court were then staying. Alexander made but a flying visit to Francis, as he was impatient to join his army, then in Galicia, and to check the progress of the French, who had taken Munich, and were advancing eastward. Murat's rapid march on the 16th of November brought on the battle of Teutersdorf, in which a part of the Russian rear-guard were routed; they left 2000 wounded on the field, and as many were taken prisoners. A few days after this disastrous event, Alexander took up his position at Wischau, and encamped the whole of his army behind that city.

The Prussian Cabinet was not as prompt to execute its decisions as was the Emperor of Russia. On the 3rd of November it had ratified the agreement to cooperate with Russia and Austria, to equip a stated number of men, and to send the pre-concerted letter to Napoleon. It may have been wise to delay sending that letter, which was a kind of defiance, until the nation's state of preparation to sustain an immediate outburst of war had been ascertained and deficiencies supplied. But Frederick the Second would never have acquired Silesia had he been thus slow in his movements; had he not been more on the alert he would

not have been Frederick the Great. Yet the King of Prussia and his ministers were undoubtedly at that moment sincere in their determination to withstand Napoleon, to make an effort to restrain the conqueror's power. They mustered the army and marched it from the Vistula that it might be as near as possible to the seat of war, ready to cut off the retreat of the French from Austria, should war with Prussia be immediately declared.* The troops which left Berlin at this time were assembled in the large open space at the eastern extremity of the Linden, where the statue of Frederick the Great now stands. Almost all the members of the Royal Family went out there to see them and to bid them farewell. The Queen was of the Royal party, and she took leave of the gallant soldiers with her characteristic heartiness of feeling and manner. While these preparatory steps were being cautiously taken by the King of Prussia, Napoleon was quickly gaining ground. The French had entered Vienna on the 13th of November; Prince Murat's quarters were established in the city. Napoleon took up his residence in the palace of Schönbrunn, Maria Theresa's favourite home,

* William Pitt considered Prussia answerable for the disasters of this campaign. He had warned her of the dangers and prefigured them in vivid colours. He had demonstrated that the common enemy had reserved for Prussia only the melancholy privilege of being the last devoured. The moment after the violation of the territory of Anspach was (Mr Pitt thought) the time to have taken a decided part. But, says Alison, England must take her share also of the common responsibility, because she abstained from all continental hostilities till the campaign was decided. 'Great Britain, secure in her sea-girt citadel, had then 500,000 men in arms. Had she despatched 80,000 of this vast force early in the campaign to a decisive point, the march of the troops which cut off Mack's retreat might have been prevented, and Prussia would probably have been determined by such a demonstration to have thrown her weight into the scale in time to have prevented the subjugation of Europe.'

at a short distance from the capital. The Empress Queen had built that magnificent edifice, and had taken great pleasure in adorning it, and in planting the extensive gardens. The family of her grandson, the Emperor Francis, had hastily left just before Napoleon entered the palace: the young Archduchess Maria Louisa was one of the frightened fugitives. Napoleon rejoiced over the cannon and ammunition found in Vienna, which greatly exceeded his expectations.

At length the King of Prussia's letter to the Emperor of France was despatched from Berlin. It was put into the hands of Count Haugwitz, who at the same time received instructions as an ambassador charged with a delicate and important international affair. Prince Louis Ferdinand was vexed that Haugwitz had been selected to perform this service, of which the latter was perfectly aware. On taking leave he asked with a sneer of triumph, 'Has your Highness any orders for me at Vienna?' to which the Prince replied, 'Count, had I orders to give, I should not make you the bearer of them.'

Haugwitz went to Vienna, and thence on to the French camp to deliver the letter to Napoleon. He found that the hostile armies were on the eve of a great battle; Russia and Austria had joined their forces, and their two Emperors were on the hills which overlook a fertile valley in Moravia about fourteen miles eastward of Brunn, the capital of that province. Napoleon was on an opposite height. His soldiers, who were in high spirits, declared that the battle they were about to fight should be called the battle of the Three Emperors. Napoleon's tent was pitched on an elevated slope commanding a view up and down a valley

watered by two little rivers which unite and form one of the numerous tributaries of the mighty Danube. On one of these small rivers stands the village of Austerlitz. Broad marshes lie between the rivers, intersected by the high road from Brunn to Olmutz, and by country roads leading from village to village, which from the morasses and little lakes by which they were bordered seemed easily susceptible of defence. The hills above are richly wooded. From his tent door Napoleon could see the whole extent of his line of troops, although it was here and there hidden by rising grounds, copse woods, and villages. The lake Moenitz formed by the confluence of the two rivers lay on the right of the French army. Directly in front of its position the Austrian forces occupied Pratzen, the highest point of a waving line of hills.

When Haugwitz arrived at the camp Napoleon received him and spoke with him for a few minutes, but said he was too much engaged to enter into any discussion, and he referred the Prussian minister to Talleyrand, his own minister at Vienna. The keen diplomatist looked round and made his own observations, which led him to think it would be prudent to wait and see the result of the conflict before he fulfilled his mission. On the night of the 1st of December Napoleon, not wishing to be recognized, went on foot to visit all the posts; but the soldiers knew him, and greeted him with acclamations. He then mounted, and reconnoitred the fires of the enemy, and inquired what his guards had been able to learn of their movements. Soon after three o'clock the sound of a distant cannonade was heard, and Napoleon then ordered Soult to bring up his columns. The soldiers accord-

ingly advanced, every heart throbbing with anxiety, every eye turned to the east, though the stars were shining in full brilliancy, for as yet, in that wintry season, no glimmer of light appeared.

The 2nd of December, 1805, proved a wonderfully bright winter's day, and as Napoleon superintended the preparations for battle he watched a glorious sunrise. It was the first anniversary of his coronation day; the coincidence animated his men, and took great effect on his own mind. As the glowing beams burst forth he connected them with his ambitious aspirations, and in after years the recollection of that morning seemed to colour his mystical ideas on the subject of his own destiny, to which he sometimes referred by apostrophizing 'the sun of Austerlitz.' With a perverted kind of poetical feeling he rejoiced in the freshness and brightness of nature, in the light he was preparing to darken.

Never was there a more horrible field of battle: hundreds of men were drowned in the lakes; their unavailing cries for help rose above the din of battle. The Russian Guards were completely broken; their Colonel, artillery, standards, and everything were taken. The regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated, he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse. Complete and decisive as was Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, yet very exaggerated accounts of it reached Berlin. At first it was said that Alexander was killed, and the reports afterwards sent forth represented that half the Russian army had been slaughtered, the rest entirely routed, of whom the greater part threw down their arms. Equally incorrect was the statement that the French had lost only

nine hundred men, with about one thousand wounded. 'The fact is,' says Sir George Jackson, 'that a victory like that of Austerlitz would bear very few repetitions. Two such would go well nigh, it is said, to ruin the French, and one defeat would be absolute destruction. It may, perhaps, be reserved for the Prussians to make them experience that alternative. The garrison of Berlin marched out in good spirits on the 7th.'

Bonaparte's proclamation addressed to his victorious troops, is in his usual bombastic style. 'You have taught them,' he says, 'that it is more easy to defy and threaten than to conquer us.' *Nous verrons.**

When the confusion occasioned by this great battle was subsiding, Haugwitz was again admitted into Napoleon's presence. He congratulated the conqueror on his brilliant victory, and instead of delivering the letter, which demanded that he should relinquish all his conquests made since the treaty of Luneville, and guarantee that a French Emperor should never hold the kingdom of Italy, the politic ambassador proposed a treaty between France and Prussia, and he had the audacity to suggest that its arrangements and conditions should annex Hanover to Prussia. Napoleon burst out into a frightful rage. He told Haugwitz that he was perfectly aware of all that had been taking place between the King of Prussia and the Emperors of Russia and Austria. 'Sir,' said he, 'you were charged with your master's congratulations on a victory, but fortune has changed their address.' He added that Prussia would be rightly served if he fell upon it, and at once utterly destroyed the kingdom. Then calming down, he said that he

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson.* Vol. i. p. 379.

would only take Cleves, Neufchâtel, and Anspach, and that, if the Prussian government would really enter into a steadfast alliance with France, he would give up Hanover to Prussia in exchange for those territories which he required.* Haugwitz accepted these terms, and signed a treaty to that effect on the 15th of December.

While the preliminaries of this affair were being arranged, and before Haugwitz had put his name on the document, Austria, completely defeated and helpless, was treating for peace. The Emperor of Russia had retreated with the fragments of his fine army. He sent to the King of Prussia offering to place all the remaining forces of Russia at his disposal if he would prosecute the war with vigour. Frederick William felt deeply for Alexander, but the Cabinet of Berlin advised him to decline the offer, and indeed at that juncture of circumstances it could not have been prudently accepted. It was not the time for Prussia to rush unsupported into a war with France.

Nevertheless, when Count Haugwitz returned to Berlin and gave an account of his conduct, the outbreak of disappointment and anger was general and sincere. The treaty which he had negotiated with Napoleon at Vienna excited the King's utmost indignation. He declared that he would not sign it, but he yielded to the wishes of his ministers, at the same time stipulating that Hanover should not be positively accepted

* According to Vehse this meeting between Haugwitz and Napoleon was very stormy, the Emperor was in a perfect fury. Just a week after the battle of Austerlitz, however, Napoleon sent for him, and received him with these words: 'Although one day succeeds another, yet they differ in what they bring to us. As you well know, I have wished for war with you, and now I offer you Hanover.'

from France, but only occupied by Prussia until the affairs of Europe could be permanently settled, in the event of a General Peace. Under existing circumstances, the treaty arranged by Haugwitz could not have been altogether set aside, as meanwhile the Peace of Presburg had been concluded with Austria.

The conscientious Von Stein always consistently adhered to the opinion that, politically speaking, Hanover ought to be annexed to Prussia. He thought that object should not be lost sight of by Prussian statesmen, and that it would ultimately be attained,—it was, he said, 'a necessity;' but he entirely disapproved of the means by which Haugwitz had too hastily and unscrupulously gained it.

During this trying time of suspense the Queen had been firm, but exceedingly anxious, and now and then excited to a degree which altered her usually gentle manner.

Count Hoym told Gentz he had noticed that a great change had come over Her Majesty since the Emperor of Russia's visit. The Queen had entered into Alexander's views; his opinions had pleased her, his arguments had taken more effect on her than on the King. But Hoym adds, the treaty of the 15th of December put an end to the Queen's desire for war. More probably it was extinguished a fortnight earlier, by the fatal battle of Austerlitz, which must have shown her that at present war was not likely to be successful.* Whatever the feelings of the Queen may have been, she subdued the inward struggles, and maintained as much as possible the usual course of things, so far as

* The battle of Austerlitz occurred in less than one month after Alexander left Potsdam.

they depended on her. When the Grand Duke Constantine spent ten days in Berlin, he was fêted, according to etiquette, with balls and other entertainments: but as the Court did not wish to see the French minister, nor any of his party, the whole *corps diplomatique* was excluded from these festivities—even the young Russians, to their very great annoyance.

It was during this unfortunate autumn of 1805 that the Crown Prince entered the army. The King put his son into the same battalion which he had himself entered in the year 1777. The young Prince, according to custom, received his commission on his tenth birthday. He soon appeared in the uniform worn by the corps to which he belonged, and wore it habitually. During the course of that wretched day on which the King and Queen first heard the heart-rending details of the battle of Austerlitz, the mother said to the little soldier, still proud of his military dress, 'I hope that when you equip yourself for battle, you will think only of avenging your unhappy brethren.'

At that moment she wished her son to feel with her, that the defeated parties were his brothers; that the grasping conqueror, who was treading all Europe under-foot, could never be his friend; that he would ever scorn to accept the protection of Napoleon Bonaparte, as many German Princes were then doing. She sought to awaken a sense of that relationship which binds together all who are bravely struggling for liberty against a common foe.

The troops, which had been stationed on the southern frontier of Prussia to cut off Napoleon's retreat, had he been defeated or checked by the allies, were now recalled. They had much annoyance to

bear, for the people, who imperfectly understood the rapid current of circumstances over which neither they nor the army had any control, greeted the soldiers with undeserved expressions of contempt for their inactivity. Many of the best officers felt excessively mortified by being compelled to return to Potsdam without having achieved anything, and the undisguised sympathy of Prince Louis Ferdinand did not console, but rather irritated them the more. General Rüchel presented himself at the King's palace, and in a commanding tone inquired 'Where is the King?' General Von Köckeritz went forward to meet him with a friendly smile, and begged to know what he had to report. 'Where is the King?' Rüchel again asked with increased earnestness; 'friendship is to be considered after the welfare of the state.' The King, who was in an adjoining room, was attracted by the noise. He no sooner made his appearance than Rüchel resolutely exclaimed: 'I am come to express to your Majesty the intense grief of the army at the miscarriage of this campaign.' Offended by this speech, Frederick William remarked, 'Since when has the army taken the lead in the resolutions of the Cabinet?' To this he added a reprimand to Rüchel, and withdrew without listening to anything further. The coldness which ensued between the sovereign and this distinguished officer might have led to deplorable consequences, had not a reconciliation been effected through the mediation of the Queen, who was seconded by the kind-hearted General Köckeritz.

As yet the Queen had taken no active part as a member of the war party; indeed, her feeling was not party feeling, nor anything like it. It was said that she

belonged to the party then agitating in favour of war, because from her natural openness of character she was not careful to conceal how deeply she felt the injuries and insults heaped upon the kingdoms and sovereign families of Europe. With her high spirit she could not have felt otherwise; she could not but prefer the idea of resistance to that of submission, whenever she saw ground for hope that a struggle for European freedom would not be made in vain.

The nearest surviving relation of Frederick the Great was Prince Ferdinand, his youngest brother, a true Hohenzollern, but now an aged man. His son and daughter, Prince Louis Ferdinand and Princess Louisa, wife of Prince Radziwill, were the prime movers of what was commonly called the war party; the brother and sister strenuously supported each other in the cause they had at heart. The Queen did not desire or endeavour to take a leading part, but she did not dissemble her feelings and aspirations, and her name was put foremost by popular report, on account of her superior rank. The Queen did not play any conspicuous part, but she was a constant incentive to the best of the nation to work for their country's deliverance. It was what she was, not what she did, that made her name a watchword for the enemies of Napoleon. The King's brothers, Princes William and Henry, entirely agreed with Prince Louis Ferdinand, Von Stein, and General Rüchel, when they incurred the danger of the King's displeasure by addressing a memorial to him, in which they urged him to give up Count Haugwitz and the peace policy, and to arm against Napoleon. The gallant Blücher was always among those who longed to attack France. Ignominy

was to him far worse than death, and he was ever in the foremost ranks of those who were jealous for the national honour.*

Napoleon had treated Frederick William's scruples of conscience with perfect contempt: consequently the terms of the treaty which had given rise to so much cunning diplomacy, angry discussion, and just indignation, were very slightly modified. When finally concluded, its conditions were almost exactly those which had been drawn up at Vienna under the sanction of Haugwitz. When the King had signed the treaty, he said to Count Hoym, 'I have signed, my dear Count, but I tremble for the consequences.'

The French evacuated Hanover, and Prussian troops were sent into that state. This change offended Great Britain, as much as it gratified all Germany. The English people not unnaturally looked upon Hanover as belonging to England. The multitude did not reflect on the nature of the relationship between the two countries, but they remembered that a good deal of British blood had been shed, and a good deal of British money spent to maintain Hanover ever since the accession of George I. For nearly fifty years after that event it was quite the popular opinion that the King's Hanoverian dominions caused more trouble and expense to England than they were worth. Newspapers and pamphlets, which had wide circulation in those times, show how general was this discontent. Since George III. had been on the throne, this feeling had been wearing away with the jealousy which had partly caused it, and in the year 1803, when Napoleon

* *Religious Life in Germany*, by William Baur. Strahan and Co. Vol. i. pages 61 and 88.

attacked Hanover, every loyal Englishman felt concerned in the matter, and highly indignant. 'Never,' says Alison, 'did the ancient rivalry between France and England break forth with more vehemence, never was the animosity of their respective governments more warmly supported by the patriotism and passions of the people.' The English were deeply mortified when Napoleon seized on Hanover, and still further exasperated when, after resolutely grasping it by right of conquest for more than two years, he gave it to Prussia in exchange for territories he had taken from that kingdom.

Germany looked upon the matter from quite a different point of view. In her eyes, Hanover was one of the Electoral States of the old Germanic Roman Empire, and in truth it never had formed a portion of the British Empire. The Germans had seen no more objection to an Elector of Hanover being also King of England, than to an Elector of Brandenburg being also King of Prussia; but when Hanover was seized by France, their old inveterate foe, and filled with French soldiers, all the other states of the German Empire considered themselves insulted and endangered. It was, they said, a flagrant breach of the treaty of Luneville existing between France and Germany. Great, then, was their satisfaction when the French troops were withdrawn from that Electoral State, and Prussian regiments stationed there.

The treaty was ratified exactly two months after Haugwitz had signed the preliminaries at Vienna, as it was finally settled at Paris on the 15th of February, A.D. 1806.

From that moment Napoleon felt that Prussia was

completely in his power. He pressed the immediate execution of all the stipulations favourable to France, but from that day all his own views were based on considerations which had nothing to do with the alliance: he formed his own projects and matured his own plans, as if that alliance had no existence.* Instead of giving orders for the evacuation of Germany, Bonaparte actually sent for fresh troops from France, until the French troops and their auxiliaries in that country did not number less than a hundred thousand men, and this force was so disposed between the Lahn and the Danube as to surround the Principality of Anspach, to menace the Electorate of Hesse, to cut off the Westphalian provinces of Prussia from the main body of her troops. Having taken this commanding position, Bonaparte required Prussia immediately to cede Anspach, or to occupy Hanover, in order, he said, that it might be placed under the government of a member of his family. He also insisted that Count Schulenberg should be recalled, and placed at the head of the foreign affairs, to the entire exclusion of Hardenberg, and that the King should renounce his connection with Russia, and enter into alliance with France.† Feeling unable to resist, the King and his ministers submitted to these humiliating demands.

The effects of this unlimited contempt of Prussia soon appeared in a series of measures which overturned the whole constitution of the Germanic Empire.

No words can paint the mingled feelings of mortification, anger, and patriotism, which burst forth

* Alison.

† Sir George Jackson's *Diaries and Letters*, vol. i., pp. 403, 407.

among the people of all ranks in Prussia, when the rapid course of events left no longer any doubt that their rights and interests were totally disregarded by France, in favour of whom she had made so many sacrifices. The war party appealed to the patriotic spirit of the people, nor did they appeal in vain; one universal cry of indignation burst from all ranks. The young officers loudly demanded to be led to combat; the elder spoke of the glories of Frederick and Rosbach; an irresistible current swept over the whole nation.*

Publications burning with indignant eloquence were continually appearing. Arndt's work on *Germania and Europe*, which had been published a few years before, was now read with avidity; the first part of his *Spirit of the Age*, his great political work, came out at this time. It inflamed the continually increasing resentment against 'The Upstart,' as he calls Napoleon, but that bitter ebullition of hatred against the oppressor of his country was too violent to retain its reputation long after the season of excitement in which it was produced had passed away. Gentz wrote a pamphlet entitled *Europe in* 1806, which circulated rapidly at that time, and which may still be read with interest. He therein says, 'It is neither to England nor to Russia that we must look for our deliverance, how desirable soever the co-operation of these powers may be: it is to Germany alone that the honour of our deliverance is reserved. It is Germany which must raise itself from its ruins, and accomplish the general emancipation. We shall do more; we shall deliver France itself, and restore to that power a free and

* See Alison's *History of Europe.*

pacific existence, consistent with the independence of Europe.' *

When those words were penned by a deep-thinking man, there was no apparent probability that they could ever be fulfilled. Napoleon was at that time completing that masterpiece of his aggressive policy, 'The Confederation of the Rhine,' putting the finishing strokes to his long-meditated project for entirely subverting the German Empire. He played with extraordinary cleverness a game which has often been played successfully by ambitious rulers: he fomented divisions, rousing one portion of the people in adjoining states against the other, and then attained supreme dominion for himself by taking advantage of this want of unity. He offered his protection, and many states who felt their own weakness, and had no confidence in their neighbours, thought themselves happy in being invited to make an alliance with the most powerful potentate of the day. Having carefully taken this first step, Napoleon proceeded to unite all the states in alliance with him into a durable confederacy, which should enable him to make use of their military resources, by applying them to his own purposes. Moreover, under the pretence of stationing the vast contingent army of France in such positions as would best protect his allies, he contrived to lay the whole expense of two hundred thousand men on the allied states.

The plenipotentiaries of all the powers who were to be admitted into the confederacy assembled at Paris in the beginning of July, and on the 12th of that month the Confederation was signed. By that act the states in alliance were declared to be severed for ever from the

* See Alison's *History of Europe*.

Germanic Empire, rendered independent of any power foreign to the confederacy, placed under the protection of the Emperor of the French, and any hostility committed against any one of the states was to be considered as a declaration of war against the whole confederated body.* Several of the allies received accessions of territory or dignity. It was at this time that Louis X. of Hesse-Darmstadt exchanged the title of Landgrave for that of Grand Duke. This confederacy was by far the most important blow which Napoleon had yet levelled at the independence of the European states. Sixteen millions of men were by a single stroke transferred from the empire to a foreign alliance.† The venerable Germanic Empire had been pierced to the heart, and profound pity was felt for the Emperor, who, prostrated by the blow struck at Austerlitz, and bound by the Peace of Presburg, was unable to defend himself. Wisely yielding therefore to circumstances which they could not control, the Imperial Cabinet justly considered that this stroke had entirely destroyed the empire. Francis by a solemn deed renounced the throne, and in a dignified speech thus expressed the feeling which actuated him: 'Being convinced of the impossibility of discharging any longer the duties which the Imperial throne imposed upon us, we owe it to our principles to

* The members of the Confederation of the Rhine were the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt; the Princes of Nassau-Weilberg, Nassau-Usingen, Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Sigmasingen, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kerburg, Isenberg, Birchstein; Prince Lichtenstein Darnberg, and Count de la Leyen. The Archduke Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, acceded to the confederacy a short time afterwards. See Alison's *History of Europe.*

† Alison's *History of Europe.*

abdicate a crown which could have no value in our eyes, when we were unable to discharge its duties and deserve the confidence of the Princes, Electors of the empire. Therefore it is that, considering the bonds which unite us to the empire as dissolved by the Confederation of the Rhine, we renounce the Imperial crown, and absolve the Electors, Princes, and states, members of the Supreme Tribunal, and other magistrates, from the duties which unite them to us as their legal chief.' *

Francis was prepared for this crisis: he had felt that the ancient structure which supported the Imperial throne was giving way under his feet; he knew that the Imperial sceptre swayed by his ancestors with pride and power had become weak as a reed; therefore he had secured his position in his own hereditary dominions. He had taken advantage of the favourable moment immediately after Napoleon had been crowned Emperor of France, and had assumed the title of Emperor of Austria; which had been legally settled on his heirs by the government of Vienna, and had been acknowledged by the other governments and the sovereigns of Europe.

* Alison's *History of Europe.*

CHAPTER VII.

DURING the winter of 1805-6, Queen Louisa was far from strong, and throughout the ensuing spring her health was greatly tried by the illness and death of her youngest son, Prince Ferdinand. While the child was fading away under the mother's anxious eye and tender care, the King became more and more entangled in perplexities and difficulties: because he felt that the country was not strong enough to contend against France, he could not determine on war, and was therefore obliged to comply with Bonaparte's arbitrary demands. He was placed in the dilemma of being compelled to give up Anspach without taking any equivalent, or of forfeiting the pledge that had been given to the Emperor of Russia, that Hanover should not be alienated without his Britannic Majesty's consent.

It was eventually decided by the King and his council that absolute possession should be taken of Hanover, and that the cession of Anspach, stipulated in the convention of the 15th of December, should be made without delay. The council that discussed these measures in the presence of the King, consisted of Baron Hardenberg, the Marquis de Lucchesini, Field-

Marshal Möllendorff, General Rüchel, General Köckeritz, MM. Lombard and Beym. Baron Hardenberg and General Rüchel alone opposed them, and the former refused to countersign the King's order for the execution of the measures. It therefore appeared with his Majesty's signature only. The Baron, who was greatly distressed at what had occurred, expressed his wish to retire from office.*

Scarcely had the humiliating intelligence become known that Anspach was to be delivered up in compliance with the demands of Bonaparte, than a fresh pang was added to the mortification by the arrival of a Prussian officer, with the information that the French, without waiting for the decision of the King of Prussia upon the points submitted to him for consideration and acceptance, had taken possession of Anspach with a corps of fifteen thousand men; and the number of troops had since been increased to nearly 40,000. The French had taken possession of all the public offices, and of a considerable sum of money found in them. The inhabitants of Anspach, not aware that they were to fall, almost without notice of their fate, into the hands of the enemy, forwarded a petition to the King, which arrived at the same time as the news that the French, anticipating the King's determination, had already entered and taken possession. The petitioners implored that their country might not be alienated from the Prussian dominions, and offered to forego every exemption from personal service, and proposed to raise men and money to support His Majesty in a war for their defence. The King was much

* See *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. i. pp. 409, 410. Bentley, London, 1872.

affected by this petition; he replied that he would never forget the proof they had given of their fidelity and attachment.*

Frederick William gained no advantage by exchanging these loyal men of Anspach for Hanoverians, who were very generally inclined to be jealous of Prussians, and inimical to Prussian rule. There were among them not a few who preferred being under the dominion of France rather than under that of Prussia.

Desiring to bestow some mark of royal favour upon Anspach, the King issued an order that the regiment of dragoons, lately under the command of the Margrave of Anspach, and of which General Kalkreuth was the Colonel, should henceforward be called 'The Queen's Regiment of Dragoons.'

Baron Hardenberg's resignation was not accepted, but he received unlimited leave of absence, and thus he retired from office, carrying with him the respect and esteem of all classes of the people, as well as the regard of his sovereign. In accordance with the imperious will of Bonaparte, M. de Haugwitz resumed the entire direction of foreign affairs. He was received with the strongest marks of general disapprobation by persons of every grade in society. The Queen and her Court were pointedly reserved and cold in their manner to him, some members of the government declined to transact business with him, and more than once a mob collected in the street and broke all the windows of his house.† Even the friends of the obnoxious minister did not justify him, and he seems to

* See *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. i. pp. 413—415. Bentley, London, 1872.

† *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. i. pp. 427, 428.

have been fully aware of the extent of his unpopularity. He assured the British minister it was generally thought that the actual state of things could not possibly last long, and he therefore entreated him to do everything in his power to prevent an open rupture between the two countries.*

When, by Napoleon's order, the British flag was banished from the ports of Hanover, England, of course, recalled her ambassador from Berlin, and declared war against Prussia. Charles Fox and the Whigs, who had come into power since the death of William Pitt, were desiring to bring about a peace with France, and therefore, as afterwards appeared, a proposition made secretly by Napoleon was not instantly rejected. But as yet it did not come before the world.†

The King of Sweden, who had already evinced a brave independent spirit, immediately avowed his intention to protect the Electorate of Hanover, and promptly acted on that declaration. Some skirmishes took place between the Swedish and the Prussian troops, in the province of Lauenburg. Further mischief was prevented by the Emperor of Russia, who being on friendly terms with the sovereigns of both nations, persuaded them to desist from hostile measures, or at least to suspend them.

The King and Queen of Prussia lost their child on the 6th of April, and this sorrow so much aggravated the Queen's previous indisposition that her physician advised she should take the baths, and drink the re-

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. i. p. 428.
† Alison's *History of Europe.*

freshing chalybeate water of Pyrmont. The King was too much engaged with important affairs to be for any length of time absent from Berlin, and the Queen, impatient to rejoin him, scrupulously followed the directions of her medical attendant with the utmost regularity. As her strength had been prostrated by a nervous fever, it was considered necessary as much as possible to keep from her everything which could disturb or agitate her, and to divert her mind from all painful and perplexing subjects. Her father, the Duke of Mecklenburg, and her brother, Prince George, came to Pyrmont to be constantly near her, and her dear friend, the hereditary Princess of Weimar (the Grand Duchess Maria of Russia), also joined her at that pleasant watering-place, which they saw in the full midsummer beauty of June and July.

The change of scene and the companionship of relations and friends whom she loved, but could seldom gather round her, cheered the Queen and did her good; but after this illness she was never as strong as she had been before. Subsequently it was thought by some of those persons who were then with her, that the germ of the malady which proved fatal was engendered at this period of her life. Her constitution had been shaken by harassing anxieties on account of her husband, of her country, and of the little child who was taken from her.* Those who watched the Queen day by day with the most affectionate anxiety had the happiness of seeing her gradually rally, but her recovery was slowly effected, being retarded by several relapses.

* In the chapel of Charlottenburg Castle there is a simple monument erected to the memory of Prince Ferdinand—it is pointed to as that of the Emperor William's little brother.

Although the royal visitors at Pyrmont had gone thither to seek retirement, yet the important news of the world could not be ignored. Napoleon's grand scheme, 'The Confederation of the Rhine,' was the political topic of the day. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers who were to be admitted into the confederacy were at that time assembled in Paris, and the Act of Confederation was signed on the 12th of July.*

The Queen very much wished to return to her family before the 3rd of August—the King's birthday, and she was well enough to do so. The King went some miles beyond Potsdam to meet Her Majesty, and on arriving at Charlottenburg she found that he had kindly prepared a pleasant surprise. The large sandy space before the gates of the court in front of the palace had been turfed and planted with shrubs, and those poplars and beeches had been planted, which now rise above the heavy antiquated building, to which they impart something of their graceful kind of dignity.

During her stay at Pyrmont the Queen had not been informed of everything which had occurred in the Prussian Cabinet; she now returned to all her home duties with renewed strength for performing them. The King no doubt felt much comforted in being again able to speak unreservedly with his wife in that full affectionate confidence with which he had treated her ever since their marriage, and which she had never abused. The Queen now learnt that the King and his ministers had decided on war with France; as yet there had been no positive rupture. She agreed in thinking it

* It was not until the last day of September that the Confederated States were declared to be severed for ever from the Germanic Empire.

the only honourable course open to them. The decision, or rather the consequent abandonment of peaceful projects, involved a disappointment; for the Queen had been looking forward to visiting her father. It had been arranged that she should be with the Duke of Mecklenburg on his approaching birthday. Since her marriage Louisa had passed but one night under her parental roof, and that was on a very melancholy occasion. In 1803 she had made a rapid journey to Ludwigslust in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, to see her friend the hereditary Princess of Schwerin, Grand Duchess Helena of Russia, who then lay at the point of death. In returning from Schwerin the Queen had rested for a few hours at Hohenzieritz, her father's country palace, but had only passed through Strelitz. She was not at all acquainted with the capital town of her own family, and she naturally longed to see her father residing there as a sovereign prince. But all mere personal considerations were obliged to be sacrificed, and indeed were soon forgotten in the anxiety and tumult of that exciting time.

The Queen now heard full particulars of Napoleon's conduct with respect to the 'Confederation of the Rhine,'—of the oppressions under which the Hanstowns groaned, and of the undeserved injuries which had been inflicted on her brother-in-law the Prince of Tour and Taxis, by the tyrannical despot of France. But all these causes of complaint, serious as they were, sunk into insignificance compared to that which arose when it was discovered by M. Lucchesini, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, that France had entered into negotiations with England on the footing of the restitution of Hanover to its lawful sovereign; that while

continually urging the Cabinet of Berlin to look for indemnities for such loss on the side of Pomerania, Napoleon had engaged to Russia that the King of Sweden should not be deprived of any of his German dominions; and that while still professing sentiments of friendship to Frederick William, he had offered to throw no obstacles in the way of the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, including the whole of Polish Prussia, in favour of the Grand Duke Constantine.*

Lucchesini also discovered that Bonaparte meditated nothing less than the seizure of all Westphalia. The discovery of this project had such an effect on the King, and excited such general indignation, that there was but one voice as to the necessity of having recourse to arms. Unfortunately Prussia was hampered by late arrangements in a way which made it difficult to recruit the army, and the King's exchequer was nearly empty, two circumstances which rendered it almost impossible for him to maintain a war with France without the aid of England. 'But England had declared that she would leave Prussia to her fate unless Hanover was restored; and the King of Prussia a few weeks before had written with his own hand that it was his fixed determination to keep Hanover, giving as a reason the importance and necessity of that country to him for maintaining the independence of North Germany. Even Baron Hardenberg had been brought to acquiesce in that view of the question.' †

The danger which Prussia must brave in immediately confronting France was awful; no one was more

* Alison's *History of Europe.* Fourth edition, vol. v. pp. 725, 726. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1843.

† *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. ii. pp. 18, 19.

sensible of it than the King, but he was deeply mortified; he felt that he had been shamefully deceived, and the discovery of the secret machinations had brought the tide of public indignation at Berlin to an irrepressible height. We can imagine what must have been the feelings of the Queen—a high-spirited woman, and one who reverenced her husband as truly and ardently as she loved him. Great was the exasperation of Blücher, Rüchel, and of all to whom the honour of Prussia was dear. Queen Louisa's spirit was roused, but it cannot with justice be said that she now headed the war party; for, in fact, the war party now ceased to exist—it was no longer a party; its voice was the voice of the nation, its resolutions were identical with those of the sovereign, the government, and the people.*

Hennings, in his *Life of Queen Louisa*, very positively expresses his conviction that she was innocent of the charge afterwards brought against her, not by the defeated and disappointed Prussians, but by the Emperor of France. He says, 'It was not until after her return from Pyrmont that the Queen heard that the war with France was decided on, that active preparations for it were being made, that the troops were being put into marching order. We do not mark this circumstance,' says Hennings, 'to free the Queen in the eyes of Prussians from the reproach which the French Emperor cast upon her, that she desired the war, and worked for it, for they were witnesses of all

* When the Cabinet of St James sent its declaration of war to Berlin, it at the same time sent the proofs of Napoleon's proposal to restore Hanover to the King of England, if England would make peace with him. —Vehse.

that she did, and of all that she abstained from doing; but in case these pages should fall into the hands of foreigners, that they through this strictly truthful account may be guarded from all error. So little share had the Queen in this war of which Napoleon wished to make the world believe it was her work, and that she had passionately led it on, that she first heard of it after it was already decided on. War had become a thing resolved on, which deeply concerned the King and all the people, and the Queen openly spoke of it and gave her opinions. The Queen wished nothing but what the King wished, and what would lead to the glory and honour of the state; and so great was her love for the King that she had no other views but his.'*

Irritated beyond endurance by a succession of insults, the King of Prussia put his armies on the war footing, despatched ambassadors to St Petersburg and London to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with those powers, opened the navigation of the Elbe, settled his differences with Sweden, assembled his generals, and caused his troops to defile in the direction of Leipsic.†

These decided measures were universally approved throughout the kingdom. There was a general outcry for war, the army had full confidence in itself, the elder officers talked of the 'Seven Years' War,' and of all that Prussia had gained under Frederick the Great; and numbers of enthusiastic younger ones assembled near the French ambassador's house and

* Translated from Hennings, *Lebensbeschreibung der Königin von Preussen.*

† Alison.

sharpened their swords on his door-step and window-sills.

The unanimity of the determination to resist French aggression may be attributed in a great measure to the murder of Palm the bookseller, which had taken place on the 25th of August. This iniquitous deed had made a great impression on the large and important middle class to which the murdered man belonged. Palm was a highly respectable publisher and bookseller of Nuremberg, who had brought out a pamphlet on *The Humiliation of Germany*. The little work greatly displeased Napoleon, who demanded the author's name. The bookseller persisted in refusing to give the name; by this courageous conduct he gained esteem and popularity, and his sad fate excited unbounded indignation. He was decoyed from his home on neutral territory, where he was arrested. He was then tried by a military commission, and shot. It was a repetition of the atrocious crime committed against the Duke d'Enghein. Thousands of people who had before seen much to admire as well as much to fear in Napoleon, and who therefore desired to be at peace with him, were now estranged from him, through abhorrence of that cruel and treacherous deed. Thenceforward the brave and free in every part of Europe saw clearly that no hope for public or private liberty remained but in determined resistance to France: that slavery and chains followed in the rear of the tricolor flag.*

Queen Louisa remained at Charlottenburg for six

* 'The carnage of Spain, the catastrophe of Moscow, the conquest of France, are thus directly associated with this deed of blood.' Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. v., p. 746.

weeks after her return from Pyrmont, and continued to gain strength notwithstanding the anxieties which must have pressed upon her mind. Her heart was cheered by the grateful affection of the people, who evinced the greatest joy and thankfulness at having their beloved Queen restored to them after her dangerous illness. On her first appearance in the theatre at Berlin she was received with overwhelming loyalty. As far as the Queen could judge, the military preparations appeared satisfactory. By the King's desire she sometimes rode beside him when he reviewed the troops. The Queen's regiment, the Anspach-Baireuth dragoons, came into Berlin and were reviewed there before they marched off for active service. On that occasion the Queen wore above her riding skirt a spencer of the colour worn by the regiment, trimmed with some of its decorations.

The advances which the King of Prussia had made towards effecting a reconciliation with England had been so far met that the blockade of the Prussian forts had been raised, the British minister had been sent back to Berlin almost immediately after he had left that city, and the Cabinet of St James had resumed amicable relations with that of Berlin before an explanation had been given on the subject of Hanover. It appears that the English government intended to send out a large force under Lord Moira, perhaps 30,000 men, but the preparations for so doing were relaxed in consequence of the anger excited by the King of Prussia's letter, in which he plainly declared his intention of keeping Hanover because it was for the good of Germany that he should hold it. King George, who was now an infirm and aged man, not easily

reasoned with, was excessively indignant; would not yield the point, and threatened a renewal of hostilities when he replied to Frederick William's letter.*, It was at length decided that the German Legion should be sent out, but that determination was arrived at too late.

At the time, however, everybody was hoping that Great Britain would be completely pacified, and would send out a large army to take part in the struggle against Napoleon.

The King of Prussia easily effected an accommodation with Sweden, and as to the Emperor Alexander, no sooner was he informed that Frederick William was about to join in the contest, than he instantly replied by promising immediate succour. He announced his intention of himself marching at the head of a large army to support his friend and ally: all this was promising. In the middle of September the Queen accompanied the King to Naumburg on the Saale, where Frederick William met the first body of Russian troops, very promptly sent to aid him by his friend Alexander.† The Queen, who did the honours of Court as gracefully under canvas as in the saloons of the palaces, received the Russian officers with her winning courtesy, feeling heartily grateful for the help and comfort they brought to her husband.

Nevertheless, it was impossible to prevent the first brunt of the contest from falling almost entirely on Prussia,—it could not be averted; for, although great and efficacious aid might be expected from Russia, and succours were hoped for from England, both in

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 32.

† Naumburg stands about midway between Leipsic and Weimar. There the valley of the Saale becomes mountainous and very picturesque.

men and money, yet all considerable assistance was as yet far distant, while Napoleon was rapidly approaching at the head of a hundred and eighty thousand veteran troops.

That Emperor had been for a long time past narrowly watching the symptoms of hostility evinced by Prussia and Russia against France. He had expected an outbreak, and to be ready for it, he had rejoined his army at Mainz (Mayence). He was at that place when he received the letter from the King of Prussia, making complaints of his conduct, and proposing to bind him down to conditions, to which he had not the slightest idea of submitting. The King of Prussia, his ministers, and his allies, were fully aware that such a letter would be equivalent to a declaration of war.

In this emergency the Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, sent to the Chevalier de Gentz, a diplomatist attached to the Court of Vienna, who afterwards became Metternich's right hand, inviting him to the camp at Naumburg. The Chevalier was surprised by the invitation, but immediately accepted it. He set off from Dresden on the 2nd and arrived at the Prussian head-quarters on the 3rd of October. He found the town of Naumburg very full—the King with all his military suite and the Queen with her ladies, and numbers of princes, generals, and officers of every rank, and diplomatic personages, having there assembled. There were very few troops, only the two first battalions of the foot guard, all the rest of the army having been sent forward to Erfurth.

Haugwitz gave Gentz a warm welcome, 'was quite affectionate.' Then said he, 'I am fully aware that you have not been pleased with me. I know also that

you could not be so, but when you understand things better you will change your opinion; at all events, you will have nothing to regret in having come here at such a critical moment as this. I have many things to ask you, but I will ask nothing until I have first convinced you of the purity of my intentions, and of the wisdom of the steps we are now taking. The decisive moment has arrived. Already the pens have begun the war, the cannon will soon be pointed, for we hear Napoleon is at Wurzburg.'

The manner in which Count Haugwitz strove to justify his change of policy was curious. He assured Gentz that if ever there was a power they wished to deceive it was France. Necessity had forced that wish upon them; but they had always desired the welfare of all the other kingdoms and states.

For a long time they had seen that Napoleon and peace were two contradictory objects; *un simulacre de paix* (a simulation of peace) was all that could be maintained. This equivocal and forced position was prolonged by two powerful reasons. First, because the King was too much averse to war. 'His Majesty flattered himself from year to year that by some happy event which would overthrow this colossal power as quickly as it had uprisen, he should be saved from the necessity of engaging in a difficult and dangerous contest, which he was determined to avoid, until driven to the last extremity. Secondly, after all the misfortunes which our friends had experienced around us, it seemed wise and necessary that one nation should be spared to Europe while she was keeping the enemy at bay, (*une dernière ressource intacte*). 'Nevertheless,' said Haugwitz, 'you saw us last year determined to pre-

pare for the contest, on which we should certainly have entered had not the battle of Austerlitz and its consequences, and above all the retreat, and the expressed desire and advice of the Emperor of Russia, turned the King from it. I found myself in Vienna isolated, abandoned by all the world. I signed, *sous le couteau*, a convention by which I drew down on myself the hatred of many people. Arrived at Berlin, I begged the King, as many persons can attest, to disown me and send me away. The fear of a sudden explosion prevented him from so doing. The alarming silence of the French government with regard to the modifications of the treaty induced the King to send me to Paris. There at last my eyes were opened, and I saw and understood what were the real dispositions with respect to us; that Napoleon was calculating on the moment at which he could fall upon us with all his strength, and that opportunity might have already presented itself, had it not been held back by Talleyrand, who was personally attached to a system of amicable union between France and Prussia.' *

Lombard, the Cabinet minister with whom Gentz also had a conversation, acknowledged that he had been the dupe of the monster who was desolating the earth; that when he had seen Bonaparte at Brussels in 1803 he had admired the nobleness of his character, and his philanthropic and pacific language, and had been deceived by the hypocrisy with which he had spoken of his particular regard for Prussia. The illusion did not last long, and M. Lombard had awakened from his dream.†

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson.* Appendix to vol. ii. p. 499. Bentley, London, 1872. † Ibid. Appendix to vol. ii. p. 510.

Gentz also called on General Kalkreuth, an intelligent man, of a caustic satirical turn of mind, who had gained his professional experience under Frederick the Great. This distinguished officer told the Chevalier that nobody had desired war more ardently than he had done, but now nobody would be more delighted than himself if any honourable way of preventing the explosion should present itself, for by the manner in which the preparations were made he foresaw that this war could not succeed, and that without an almost fabulous turn of fortune it would lead to the most melancholy issue. He said, 'If some unlooked-for incident does not entirely change the actual state of things within the next week, this campaign will end in a retreat like that of 1792, or by some memorable catastrophe which will make the world forget the battle of Austerlitz.' Kalkreuth thought the Duke of Brunswick too old and altogether unfitted for the supreme command.*

Gentz seems to have pondered over the motives which could have induced Count Haugwitz to send for him, and to have come to the conclusion that it was done, not only to conciliate the Court of Vienna, and to assure it of Prussia's fidelity to the European cause, but also to give the Prussian army confidence in the Prussian ministers. Many of the officers were still smarting under their last year's disappointment, when in high spirits they had gone forth, as they thought, to meet the foe, but had been ordered back because a treaty which they considered dishonourable to their country had been concluded. When Gentz appeared

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.* Appendix to vol. ii., pp. 498 and 512. Bentley, London, 1872.

at Naumburg almost every man whom he met welcomed him with nearly the same compliment. 'You are here—thank God, we shall not be deceived this time.' The Chevalier moved with the troops to Weimar on the 4th of October, and some days later he proceeded with them to Erfurth.

When the King of Prussia's letter and the accompanying paper stating the conditions he had dared to propose were put into the Emperor Napoleon's hands, he hastily read the letter, glanced over the document, then threw it contemptuously on the table, and turning to his secretary began to dictate a proclamation to his soldiers. 'Soldiers! the order for your return to France was issued. You were already within a few days' march of your homes, triumphal fêtes awaited you, and preparations for your reception had commenced in the capital; but while we too confidently resigned ourselves, feeling too secure, new plots were hatching under the mask of friendship and alliance. Cries of war have been raised at Berlin, and for two months we have been provoked with a degree of audacity which calls for vengeance. . . . . They seek to tear your laurels from your brows; they expect us to evacuate Germany at the sight of their army. What madness!—Soldiers, I know there is not one of you who would wish to return to France by any other path than that of honour. We ought not to return except beneath triumphal arches. What! have we braved inclement seasons, the ocean, and the desert; have we subdued Europe, often united against us; have we extended our glory from the east to the west, only to return like deserters; and are we to be told that the

French eagle has fled in dismay before the Prussian?'

This speech produced the intended effect, the French troops marched off in high spirits eager to meet the enemy.

The Prussian manifesto was less fitted to rouse the military passion, but it was a model of dignified reason. Moreover, it was not boastful but truthful. Frederick William plainly told his soldiers, 'On this war depends not only the honour of the Prussian arms, but the very existence of the monarchy.' *

The opposite style of these two eloquent proclamations is very remarkable. Both are addressed to the strongest passions of the human breast, both are masterpieces of manly oratory; but the language which they severally employed is strikingly characteristic of the different situations in which their authors stood. Napoleon speaks to his soldiers only of an insult offered to their arms, of glory, and triumphs, and victories to be won: Frederick William, equally firm, but less sanguine as to the result, disguises not the dangers and chances of the struggle, but reminds them of the duty they owe to themselves, their country, and the cause of the human race. The former invokes the eagles of France, and calls on his subjects to follow their glorious career: the latter appeals to the God of battles, and anticipates through His aid a final triumph for a righteous cause—the triumph of freedom over despotism. The catastrophe of Jena and the chains of Tilsit seemed a strange reply, but let the words of the King of Prussia be borne in mind and compared with the final result of the contest.

* Alison.

Both the proclamations are fully given in Alison's *History of Europe,* and may be read with deep interest, for the Prussian has proved prophetic, and has been more than once accomplished.*

* Fourth edition, vol. v., pp. 782—787.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT last the peace-loving Frederick William, fully convinced that he unsheathed his sword at the call of duty, and in the power of that conviction triumphing over doubt and fear, gallantly took the field; although only twenty thousand men could be brought to the standards of the Great Frederick. Under very different impressions, hopeful on very different grounds, the bands of soldiers marched from various directions towards Erfurth, the spot which the King had chosen as his head-quarters. The men quite enjoyed marching through the villages, conscious that they were looked upon by the people as trustworthy defenders of the Fatherland, they having formed part of that army which had done such wonders on Prussia's fields of fame. On they marched, loudly singing triumphant songs, believing in the proud saying of Frederick the Great, that the world was not so well poised on the shoulders of Atlas as the Prussian monarchy was on the bayonets of the Prussian army.

The King stationed his army at Erfurth and Weimar. His Majesty remained at head-quarters, where he enforced rigid discipline, yet by the personal interest he took in the men he gained their regard as well as

their respect. The King's popularity, together with the frequent presence of the Queen, inspired the troops with loyal ardour. Queen Louisa while at the camp had no desire to interfere in military affairs, but simply to be with her husband, and to ascertain whether it might not still be possible for her to help him in any one of the numberless and nameless ways in which she had hitherto done throughout their married life. She had not thought, but had felt in the silent depths of her own heart, that all her faculties belonged to her husband—they were herself, and she was his wife. Her faculties were those of a very clever though a very simple-minded woman. She was not self-conceited, but she knew that she had not wasted them, that she had applied them to the circumstances and the duties which had sprung up around her in that exalted state of life to which it had pleased God to call her. She now braced her nerves by clinging tenaciously to the invigorating idea that even in the camp, or wherever she might be, she could still be of service to the King, and to the country which she loved so well. When two persons are bound together by the tie of a really strong mutual affection they will prefer hardships and every other kind of trial to that of separation, so long as they have any power to choose their own course of life and action. The heroic elements of Queen Louisa's character enabled her to enter into the soldier's feelings, and her talent for speaking naturally and forcibly on the impulse of the moment might be useful in the camp. We have no reason to believe that she could urge men on to face death, without at the same time striving to awaken them to the eternal realities of immortal life. Madame de Berg tells us that brave

though she was, the Queen shed many tears when she thought of the widows and orphans who must be left desolate.

In the journal which the Chevalier de Gentz kept regularly at this time, we find some details of the brief period in which Queen Louisa followed the army with her husband. Altogether it was exactly three weeks, for they went to Naumburg on the 23rd of September, and the Queen left the seat of war on the unfortunate 14th of October.

When moving with the army the King and Queen travelled in a close carriage, followed by twenty carriages, preceded and surrounded on all sides by troops and artillery. This long column presented a strange yet attractive effect as it wound up and down the hills and through the valleys. The *coup d'œil* was particularly striking at the moment when it crossed the bridge over the Saale at Kössen, under hills which give marked character to the scenery, especially when it is glowing in autumnal beauty. The grand *cortège* came bravely on, all were apparently in good spirits; the soldiers believed that they were on the eve of a great battle, and were sanguine of success; and the officers talked of the changes which would result, and of the independence which would be given to all Europe. General Kalkreuth spoke to the Chevalier de Gentz of the Queen: there had been somewhat different opinions expressed with regard to Her Majesty's continuing to accompany the King. General Kalkreuth said, 'You are hoping to have the honour of being presented to the Queen. If you should have an opportunity for saying a few words to her on the subject, pray say all you can to induce her to remain. I know what I am

asking, her presence with us is quite necessary.' Gentz was wishing to be introduced, but he did not expect much from the audience, in which, as he confesses, he was mistaken.

Her Majesty appointed an audience on the 8th of October, but postponed it till the following day, as the Duchess of Weimar remained at Erfurth, where the King and Queen then were, a day longer than had been expected. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 9th Gentz was graciously received by the Queen. Her Majesty's eldest sister, the Duchess of Hildburghausen, was present at the interview, but took very little part in the conversation. The Queen immediately asked Gentz the question most interesting to her—what he thought about the war?—she added, 'Do not think that I ask you because I wish to be encouraged. Thank God, I feel that I can meet anything that may occur with courage! but I like to know on what men who are capable of judging found their hopes, that I may reflect and examine myself to see if my motives agree with theirs.' The firm attitude of the Queen's mind astonished Gentz; she showed no fear, no irresolution. She said, 'I think we could not decide otherwise than on war, our position had become so equivocal that it was necessary to get out of it at all price. It is much less on calculation than on a sentiment of honour and under a sense of duty that we were obliged to take this part. I have never been consulted about public affairs, nor have I ever wished to be. Had my opinion been asked I confess I should have voted for war, as I believed it to be necessary. Yet I was, at the same time, fully convinced that the great sources of true security were to be found only in the closest union of

all who bear the name of Germans: as to Russia's assistance, I always regarded it only as a last resource.' The clear-sighted acuteness of the Queen's, mind struck Gentz as different from anything he had ever met with before; he said, 'You could not find another such woman in Germany. The intellectual and refined ideas which she developed every moment during our three-quarters of an hour's conversation were wonderful; she argued with independence and energy, yet with precision and self-control, evincing a prudence which would have been admirable in a man. At the same time, everything she said was so full of deep feeling as not to allow me for one moment to forget that it was a woman who claimed my attention. It was a combination of dignity, benevolence, and grace, such as I never met with before. Not a word was out of place, not a sentiment, not a reflection which was not in exquisite harmony with the general character of her conversation.'

Queen Louisa candidly told Gentz she had for a long time past felt painful doubts as to how the public, above all, those of other countries, would look on this expedition, as she knew only too well that they did not like Prussia, and she understood why they did not. She added, 'You know the past better than I do, but has not the moment arrived at which it should be forgotten?'

The Queen spoke very carefully and gently of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine; as she would have wished others to speak of the King of Prussia and herself under similar circumstances. Gentz noticed that Queen Louisa's voice trembled when she spoke of the misfortunes of Austria, of the calamity of Austerlitz; he then saw that she

could hardly control her emotion; she soon had to weep for her own kindred and her own people. Gentz did not forget General Kalkreuth's request: the Queen assured him, that so far as depended on herself, she did not think of leaving the camp, because she hoped to be serviceable to the King, and to the wounded; but, she added, 'I must be guided entirely by the King's determination, if he should desire me to leave I must do so.' Her Majesty honoured the Councillor with a few kind parting words, bestowed with a sweetness of manner which greatly enhanced their value. Gentz deserved gratitude, for he had helped the King of Prussia to draw up his admirable Proclamation of War.

On the day after that on which this interview took place, the Prussian head-quarters were moved to Blanken. Two regiments escorted the King and Queen. Her Majesty was attended by the Countess Von Voss, the Countess Von Tauentzien, Madame Von Buch, the Chamberlain's wife, and two ladies, one of whom was a sister of Schadow the celebrated sculptor. The Royal *cortège* was detained two hours before the gates of Erfurth while the troops were marching out of that town. On the 11th the main army proceeded to Weimar, and on arriving at that place it received a shock which thrilled through all its ranks, unnerving many a heart, grieving and depressing all. There they heard that on the previous day an advanced corps of six thousand men, chiefly Saxons, who fought with daring courage, and were commanded by the impetuous Prince Louis Ferdinand, had been hemmed in in the narrow valley of the Saale and surrounded by thirty thousand of the enemy. They fought for five hours

with passionate valour, and repulsed the French in their first attack, but in the ardour and excitement of the moment Prince Louis crossed the Saale in pursuit, disregarding orders to the contrary which he had just received. He fell under circumstances particularly distressing to his family, as his death was partly caused by an accident. His charger failing to take a leap clearly, got entangled in a hedge. A French sergeant of the 10th Hussars saw an officer struggling in the bushes, and galloped towards him. The Prince had extricated himself, and was rushing on when he was checked by a strong antagonist. 'Surrender, Colonel, or you are a dead man,' said the Hussar. The Prince replied by giving a forcible sabre cut, and the next instant he received a sword-thrust in his side. One of his aides-de-camp tried to carry him off the field, but was obliged to put him down on the bank of a rivulet, and there he expired. His death spread dismay among the men, who then retreated precipitately and in great disorder, leaving thirty pieces of cannon in the enemy's hands. The conquerors had conveyed the body to Saalfeld, and they gave it the honours of a military interment in the church.*

The death of this courageous Prince, equally dear to the officers and the private soldiers, spread a portentous gloom. This grievous calamity at the opening of the campaign was looked upon with a superstitious kind of sorrow, as a fearful augury of its future fortunes. Preparations for a decisive battle continued, but they were carried on in a very different spirit from that which had hitherto animated the minds of all concerned

* In the year 1811 the remains of this heroic Prince were removed to Berlin Cathedral.—Alison and Jackson.

in them. In deep dejection the Prussians concentrated their forces. The old Duke of Brunswick had been watching for the enemy on the edge of the Thuringian Forest; but now the troops were all concentrated into two large masses, one under the King and the Duke of Brunswick in the neighbourhood of Weimar, and the other under Prince Hohenlohe near Jena at the foot of the last slopes of the Thuringian Forest: so that it had behind it a range of hills which rendered the position a very unfortunate one when rapid retreat became necessary.

Conceiving that the French Emperor had no intention of immediate combat, and being anxious for the safety of Naumburg, where the principal magazines of the army were placed, the Duke of Brunswick had come to the ruinous resolution of again dividing his forces. Thus, at the very moment when Napoleon with above a hundred thousand men was making his dispositions for a general battle, the Prussian commander-in-chief was dividing the mass of his forces. The victory at Saalfield had opened the course of the Saale to the French, who had instantly advanced upon Naumburg. Napoleon had consigned that town and its magazines to the flames, which first announced to the Prussians that the enemy had got completely in their rear and interposed between them and Saxony. As the French were now also between them and Magdeburg, which ought to have been their rallying point, their stronghold for refuge and defence, no alternative was left to the Prussian armies but to confront the foe, notwithstanding that they were aware of the disadvantages under which they would fight. At day-break on the 13th of October, the principal body, with the

King at its head, moved off for Sulza, and at night arrived on the heights of Auerstadt. Prince Hohenlohe watched and waited near Jena.'*

His Majesty had placed the Queen and her ladies in the ducal castle of Weimar, under the protection of the courageous Duchess, whom Louisa well knew, as she was a Hessian Princess, a daughter of Louis IX. and the Langravine Caroline. The castle is a noble princely residence on the eastern outskirts of Weimar, between the town and the river Ilm. Its picturesque tower is two hundred feet high, but it is not a fortress capable of resisting a hostile attack. It stands on rather elevated ground above the left bank of the little river which flows through its pleasant park; the town runs close up to the other side of the castle, half surrounding it with buildings. Duke Charles Augustus was with the army; he was a gallant soldier, though remarkable for the love he bore to art, and for the pleasure he took in the society of men of letters. Under the influence of Goethe's poetical genius he had decorated and furnished several suites of apartments, and had otherwise tastefully embellished his castle, which was worthy to receive a royal guest.

The King and Queen had parted, not expecting an immediate outburst of war; but a few hours later it became evident that the great battle which must be fought was imminent. The Queen, who was very anxious to join her husband while it was possible to do so, set out for Auerstadt on the afternoon of the 13th. The country through which she drove was in a very disturbed state, as the French had already appeared on the heights above Kössen. From the account which

* Scott and Alison.

the Queen herself gave of her adventures to her husband's sister, the Princess of Orange, it seems that she actually met the King, that she was travelling with him in the midst of the army which was in full march towards the enemy, who could be distinctly seen. On finding the Queen in this position, the Duke of Brunswick was exceedingly astonished; he insisted on Her Majesty's immediate departure, and gave her a whole squadron to escort her back to Weimar. The King pressed her hand and spoke a few hopeful words to cheer her as they parted, promising that she should be the first to hear of any advantage gained.*

Before the Queen left, the Duke had received intelligence that Soult with a large body of troops was advancing to the east of Jena, with the intention of turning Prince Hohenlohe. It was not then known at head-quarters where Bonaparte himself was.†

When the Prussian troops at Weimar saw the Queen driving back again they supposed the enemy was close at hand, and with a loud shout, raised by thousands of voices, they declared at once their loyalty and their readiness for the impending conflict. The good disposition of the soldiers endued the Queen with fresh confidence, she believed that the whole army was animated with a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm, as she remarked to the Countess Tauentzien, who was in attendance.

With great difficulty the Queen was prevailed on to make arrangements for returning to the capital, although every one who could advise her concurred in

* Letter of the Princess of Orange. See *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. ii. pp. 23—26. Bentley, London, 1872.

† Ibid.

thinking it the right and prudent course. The Duchess intended to accompany Her Majesty, but that was given up. General Rüchel provided the Queen with a guard of fifty men under a trustworthy captain, and marked out a circuitous route through the Hartz mountains, by which he thought the journey might safely be made in four days. The more direct route was considered likely to be dangerous on account of the numerous French strolling parties which, for purposes of pillage, were scattered over the country nearly as far as Leipsic. When Rüchel was pointing out the road on a map, a spy, who was present, observed what was passing, and reported to Napoleon that the Queen of Prussia was helping to make the military plans.

Early on the misty morning of the 14th of October, destined to be branded on the memory of Prussians as a doubly unfortunate day, Queen Louisa and her suite left Weimar. Her Majesty was attended by the *Oberhofmeisterin*, Countess Von Voss, two maids of honour, and her chamberlain. Although themselves in a deplorable case, yet the inmates of the castle gave many an anxious thought that day to the Queen, who had won all hearts by her courage, gentleness, and goodness. One of the officer's wives, a young and very handsome lady, remained at the seat of war longer than did Queen Louisa. Her husband was in the regiment called the Queen's Dragoons: they were the parents of the boy now known as Colonel Corvin. About noon, when the defeat of the Prussian army was no longer doubtful, the Duchess of Weimar made arrangements for the removal of her daughter-in-law and the Dowager Duchess, but the thought of herself escaping from the

danger and tumult of war never seemed even for a moment to occur to her. The trying scenes through which that high-minded woman bore up and supported those around her are thus described by John Falk, the philanthropist, an eye-witness and fellow-sufferer.*

'Nearer rolled the wave of destruction—nearer the thunder of the fight: cannon-balls fell in the town—wounded and dead filled the streets. Towards evening a portion of the hostile army entered Weimar, and the most rapacious pillage began. Night-fall increased the terror. Fire broke out a short distance from the castle, the flames cast a lurid glare over the Duchess's apartments, and the cries of fear and distress mingled with the drunken riot of the soldiery. French officers had quartered themselves and many of their subordinates in various parts of the castle. The Duchess had kindly afforded to many of the townspeople, even to whole families with their valuables, an asylum in the castle. The most precious articles were lying about her own room in confused and motley heaps. The Duchess had generously taken in, not only all the ladies of her own court, but also all the English and other strangers who happened to be in the town. For this greatly increased household there was no provision, as the conquerors had seized all the food. The Duchess collected the party which her benevolence had brought together, and accommodated them as well as she could in a wing of the castle, while she caused the state apartments vacated that morning by Queen Louisa, to be quickly prepared for the reception of the unwelcome guest whose arrival might be expected.

* Falk's description, as translated in Mrs Richardson's *Memoirs of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*, p. 159. Bentley, 1848.

Time passed on through that awful day: the Duchess and her friends were secure in their retreat, but they had hardly anything to eat except a few cakes of chocolate which had been accidentally discovered. The town was in a terrible state. Prussians retreated through the streets pursued by the French, who slaughtered them without mercy. Some of the inhabitants who attempted to interfere were murdered, and a general plundering began.' The victorious Emperor took no rest on the night of the 14th. All through the dark hours he was dictating orders to the various corps of his army for the directions they were to follow in pursuing the enemy. Towards evening on the following day he entered the Duke of Weimar's palace, now become his own by right of conquest. The Duchess with formal politeness awaited him at the head of the principal stair-case, and descended one flight of steps to meet him. Napoleon started at the sight of her.

'Who are you?' he said, with characteristic abruptness. 'I am the Duchess of Weimar.' 'I pity you, for I must crush your husband—where is he?' 'At his post of duty.' 'I shall dine in my own apartment,' —and he rushed past her.

'Throughout that night hundreds of intoxicated soldiers were committing the most horrible excesses of rapine and plunder. The Duchess, and all within the castle, though not exposed to personal danger themselves, felt too much sympathy with the townspeople to sleep in peace.'

Before the sun had risen Count Philip de Segur went into the Emperor's room to report details of the hot pursuit which had been going on incessantly ever

since the Prussian armies had been put to flight at Jena and Auerstadt.* If there was any one thing more than another in which the military genius of Napoleon shone prominently, it was in the vigour and ability with which he followed up a beaten enemy; and he never had a better opportunity for displaying this essential quality of a great general than was afforded him by all concurrent circumstances after those twin victories gained in one day. The Emperor, who slept lightly, immediately roused himself on the entrance of his aide-de-camp, exclaiming, 'What news?'

'Sire,' replied the officer, 'I have a good report to give you, but we have failed in our attempt to take the Queen of Prussia.'

'Ah! that would have been well done,' said the Emperor, 'for she has caused the war.'

The brave Duchess resolved to make an effort to soften and bend the iron will of the despot on which so many were dependent. Accordingly, in the morning, she sent her chamberlain to inquire after His Majesty's health, and to beg the favour of an audience. Napoleon was in a less ferocious mood, he returned a gracious answer, and invited himself to breakfast with the Duchess in her apartments.

On entering the room he began a conversation with an abrupt question, his usual habit. 'Madam, how could your husband be so mad as to make war against me?' Slowly and deliberately, without any appearance of fear, the Duchess replied—'My husband has been in the service of the King of Prussia for more than thirty years; certainly it was not at the moment

* Napoleon, Ney, and Murat, led the French at Jena, and Davoust at Auerstadt.

when the King had so formidable an enemy as your Majesty to contend against that the Duke could abandon him.' This admirable answer made the right impression; the Emperor continued the conversation, sharply, but in a more respectful manner, and as he rose from the breakfast table, he said, 'Madam, you are the most sensible woman whom I have ever known. You have saved your husband; I pardon him, but entirely on your account. As for him, he is a bad subject.' The Duchess took no notice of this invidious compliment, but seized the opportunity for using such influence as she had been able to obtain in favour of the suffering people of Weimar; nor did she plead unsuccessfully. Napoleon gave orders that the plundering should cease, and he released Mr Osborne, an English gentleman who had been arrested.* Mrs Corvin's husband had fled with the rest in the stampede; he escaped, rejoined his beautiful young wife, hurried her and her little daughter off to Stralsund; but did not think them safe till he had concealed them in a secluded spot in the interior of the island of Rugen.

With her heavy heart full of restless anxieties Queen Louisa had been conveyed along the tortuous route which General Rüchel had traced out. He had chosen the least frequented, therefore the roughest roads; and the most secluded mountain passes. At first the cannonading sounded like the rumble of distant thunder, but it died away as the sad travellers proceeded on their journey. They had no means of gaining

* *Memoirs of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Richardson. *Memoires de M. Le Comte de Segur.* Colonel Corvin's *A Life of Adventure. La Reine Louise de Prusse*, par Augustin Cochin, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome 91, 1871.

authentic intelligence of what was taking place, they could only glean scraps of news, most often contradictory, from the terrified peasants at the way-side resting-places.

'I journey on between the mountains of hope and the abysses of despair,' said Queen Louisa, as the heights and depths of nature suggested a figurative expression of the uneven tenor of her thoughts. She strove to attain calmness by resigning herself and all that belonged to her—her husband, her children, her country, and the men whose lives were staked—into the hands of God. Then a glimmering recollection of the beautiful eighth chapter of Romans flitted across her mind. A few broken words, a sentence here and there, audibly passed her lips, and indicated to her companions the source whence she was deriving strength and consolation.*

About six o'clock on the evening of the 15th, the Queen drove into Brunswick, and alighted at the Hotel d'Angleterre, where the Princesses then in that city shortly after waited upon her Majesty. All were eager to hear of what was going on at the seat of war. Louisa tried to give an account of what she had seen and heard, but her nerves had been so shaken by all she had gone through, that her conversation seemed confused, and it was remarked that she did not give a clear description of what had occurred. After the Queen had left Brunswick, various versions were current of

*. 'The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for.' 'We know that all things work together for good to them that love God.' 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or peril, or sword?' 'Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.'

the accounts she had given. It was said she had mentioned in confidence to one of the Princesses, that the King and the Duke were very despondent, and that the former had said to her that he thought 'all was lost.' This confidential communication was generally whispered about, and caused the most anxious fears. 'But,' wrote the Princess of Orange, 'I do not think the Queen said exactly that, at least I did not hear her say it. But it is true that she was excessively agitated and affected by having had to take leave of the King at the moment when a battle was impending; and, *entre nous*, her Majesty's head was a little turned by the sight of the war which she had seen so near, and where she had better not have gone.'*

On the morning of the 16th of October, Queen Louisa, having rested one night at Brunswick, proceeded on her weary journey.

It was not until the fourth day, when they reached the town of Brandenburg, that a courier sent by General von Kleist met the Queen. Hastily taking the paper from the horseman's hand, Louisa read the confirmation of her fears, the destruction of her hopes. The letter briefly informed her that all was lost—that the French were rapidly advancing—that she must flee with her children—that the whole kingdom was in the greatest danger. This first despatch gave no positive news of the King, it expressed a hope that His Majesty was safe.

With the utmost possible speed the Queen was hurried on, and arrived at Berlin that evening. She found that her children had been already sent off to

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. pp. 23—26.

Schwedt on the Oder. The terrible truth, or at least an alarming portion of it, had reached Berlin a few hours before the Queen did so; but up till the 16th the inhabitants of the Prussian capital, including even the Royal Family, had been deceived by false reports of a great Prussian victory. Hufeland, the Queen's physician, and his friend Fichte, who happened to be with him, had thankfully celebrated the imaginary triumph; but the former received on the 18th a summons to the palace. He found the Queen in tears, her hair and her dress in disorder, with an expression of despair on her face, such as he had never seen before. She received him with the words, 'I must fly to my children, and you must go with me.' Hufeland, like every one else who knew Queen Louisa intimately, loved her with an affectionate loyalty; he was happy in devoting himself to her service in such an hour as this. He accompanied her to Schwedt, where she found all her children safe and well, but the first sight of them, when her nerves were so greatly strained, overcame her fortitude, and her agitation frightened the little creatures, who were accustomed to see their mother always gentle and happy. As soon as she was calm enough to speak, the Queen said to them—'My darlings, you see me in tears: I weep for the destruction of our army, for the death of relations, and of many faithful friends:' then addressing herself particularly to her two elder sons, eleven and nine years of age, she explained to them that the army had not answered to the King's expectations. 'You see,' said the Queen, 'an edifice which two great men built up in a century, destroyed in a day; there is now no Prussian army, no Prussian empire, no national pride, all has vanished

like the smoke which hid our misery on the fields of Jena and Auerstadt.' *

The mother related to her sons all that she had heard of the sad but glorious death of Louis Ferdinand. 'Do not be contented with grieving for his loss,' she said, 'but bring out your own powers, under a determination that you will not dishonour the family to which you belong. Do not be infected, my princes, with the degenerate spirit of the age, but be men, and strive after the fame of distinguished generals and heroes. Without this ambition you would be unworthy descendants of Frederick the Great. Resolve to persist in exertions to give independence to your country; and for Prussia's sake, be willing to confront death as Louis Ferdinand confronted it.'

Count Hardenberg, the Prime Minister, arrived from Berlin, he had come to give the Queen the earliest possible assurance of the King's safety, and to protect Her Majesty in her precipitate flight. They were only now beginning to receive the details of the short decisive war; they did not know the full particulars until they had arrived at Stettin. The Queen was much affected, she could scarcely realize the truth. When, by her desire, the appalling list of the killed and wounded was read to her, it seemed like a dreadful dream. She had so lately seen the officers and men in health and spirits, thousands of whom were now no more. The number of chief officers who had fallen gave honourable proof that if infatuation had led them to the field, valour had inspired them when there.†

It was well that the Queen was moving on, hoping soon to see her husband; not resting, nor trying to

* Adami. † Alison.

rest, while her mind was so grievously disturbed. The Queen and her children travelled from Schwedt to Stettin on the 19th. The few hours spent at Stettin must have been full of anxious and painful excitement, for it was then and there that Lombard, the Court Secretary, was arrested. That Cabinet Councillor was very generally suspected of holding treacherous intercourse with the French, and consequently he had become an object of popular fear and detestation. This man appeared at Stettin just as the Queen arrived at that town, and very soon afterwards he was arrested and taken off to prison. It was commonly reported that, in the absence of the King, Lombard had been arrested by order of the Queen. It was surmised that when Her Majesty heard that this dangerous man had arrived at Stettin just as she did so herself, she suspected some secret machination, and was afraid to proceed on her perilous journey till he had been secured. This story has been related in various ways and with many comments, but Sir George Jackson, who was at that time in Stralsund, plainly states that the arrest was made by order of the King: he says, 'It is quite true that the Court Secretary, Lombard, was arrested at Stettin. He was himself the bearer of the order to that effect, in a letter from the King to the Queen, who was then at Stettin. This order was communicated to the governor, while Lombard was waiting in an ante-room; but in their eagerness to execute it, they forgot to possess themselves of his papers, which his wife, on learning what had happened, instantly burnt, without exception. When the King arrived at Stettin, a petition from Lombard was presented to him: the result is not known, so far only

it is certain that he was removed under a strong escort; but whether for the purpose of confining him elsewhere, or to protect him from the fury of the populace, has not transpired.' This extract from Sir George's Diaries is under the date of November 1st, 1806.*

Before many days had elapsed, Lombard was set at liberty, either because the King was convinced of his innocence, or because His Majesty felt that at such a time it was impossible to investigate the matter thoroughly, and to prove the charge, even if the accusations were well grounded.

The Queen stayed at Stettin only one day; on the 20th she hastened forward to Cüstrin, a strongly fortified town on the Oder, where she rejoined the King. Only a week had elapsed since they parted, since she had seen him go forth to lead a magnificent army into the field. In that brief interim they had lost much, but they had much to be thankful for in being spared to each other, when so many lives had been sacrificed, so much noble blood shed, as it seemed, in vain. The King and his brothers, Princes Henry and William, were all wounded; Prince William was severely though not dangerously hurt.

The King had fought gallantly at Auerstadt, had manifested the most signal coolness and intrepidity, and during the repeated charges which he had made at the head of his troops had had two horses killed under him. He gave directions for the army to retreat in the direction of Weimar, intending to fall back on the corps of Prince Hohenlohe, of whose disaster he was then ignorant.†

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. ii. p. 37. Bentley, London, 1872.

† Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. v. p. 814.

Streams of fugitives from the two battle-fields had crossed each other's paths, which had caused inextricable confusion and a universal panic. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery had disbanded, and leaving their guns and waggons, had fled in miserable disorder across the fields, without either direction, command, or a rallying point. The King himself was wounded, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner during the tumult and horrors of the night; it was not till five in the morning that by a long circuit he arrived at Sommerda, where he received official news of the melancholy disaster at Jena, accompanied by the letter, offering an accommodation, so insidiously despatched by Napoleon the day before that great victory.*

It was then evident that the terrible misfortunes of the day had chiefly arisen out of the extraordinary circumstance of the four principal generals of the army—the Duke of Brunswick, Marshal Moellendorf, General Schmettau, and General Rüchel, being either killed or put *hors de combat*, which left the confused mass of fugitives without a head; they mingled together during the horrors of a nocturnal retreat, when it was impossible for them to know whose orders were to be obeyed. The old Commander-in-Chief, the unfortunate Duke of Brunswick, had been carried off the field in the early part of the day. Struck by a bullet which drove his left eye out of its socket, he had fallen sense-

* Alison's *History of Europe.* Fourth edition, vol. v. p. 816.

'On the 12th of October, Napoleon, finding affairs in a situation so much more favourable than he could possibly have anticipated, to gain additional time to complete the encircling of his antagonists, despatched an officer of his household with proposals of peace to Frederick William, taking care meantime not to suspend for one instant the march of his columns; but the letter did not reach that monarch till after the battle was over.' Ibid. p. 795.

less from his horse, having been previously wounded in the breast. When he was gone, no one, not even the King, had any exact knowledge of the plan of operations. The Prince of Orange, with his only remaining corps of from five to six hundred men, and the Duke of Weimar, made good their retreat to Erfurth.

When the King, accompanied only by one of his *aides-de-camp*, had arrived on the morning of the 16th at Sondershausen, he had found that of his army, lately so splendid and numerous, there remained in the field only the corps of the Duke of Weimar and General Blücher; but he was not bereft of all his other generals, and he was glad to see his old friend Köckeritz among those who now gathered round him. He consulted with his officers and appointed the strong town of Magdeburg as the rallying point for the scattered fragments of his army. At the parsonage house at Sommerda, Frederick William wrote a reply to Napoleon's letter; he proposed a truce, but he had not received an answer when he met the Queen at Cüstrin. The King had spent some days at Magdeburg, doing all that could be done to prepare that valuable stronghold for resisting the attack it would surely have to sustain, and to provision it for a siege. It seemed possible that the almost impregnable walls of that fortress might be successfully defended by the wreck of the Prussian army. Leaving General Kleist in command at Magdeburg, Frederick William had gone on to Cüstrin, passing through Berlin in the night. Such had been the King's adventures since he parted from the Queen.*

* The only Prussian troops who kept the field were about 24,000 men under Blücher, composed by the union of the cavalry he had brought off

The King stayed some time at Cüstrin, examining the defences and giving the necessary orders: it was sad to see the careworn but still beautiful Queen, as, wrapped in a large travelling cloak, she walked up and down the ramparts with her husband. Even then the extent of the great calamity was not fully revealed; courier after courier brought bad news, and often it was deeply mortifying as well as grievous, for several of the commanding officers yielded up the fortresses which had been intrusted to them, not having first attempted to make a patriotic resistance.* Prince Hohenlohe seemed to be the only general who was able to make any stand against the French, and he was defeated near Prenzlau, and severely wounded.

Nearly all the members of the Royal Family met at Freyenwalde, the secluded castle in which the late Queen Dowager had resided, to consult over their several arrangements. It must have been on all accounts a melancholy re-union; and the time they could spend together was very short, and disturbed by exciting fears; for the French were advancing with Napoleon at their head. Prince William had commanded a powerful body of cavalry at Jena; but in vain these brave cavaliers with headlong fury rode their steeds to the very muzzles of the French muskets. The Prince saw half of his followers stretched on the field, and he was severely wounded, but was now re-

from Auerstadt with the Duke of Saxe-Weimar's infantry. Against this heroic band 60,000 men were now directed under Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte.—*Alison.*

* 'Of all the officers who had scandalously delivered up fortresses committed to their charge, *into* the enemy's hands, only one was afterwards condemned to death, and on him the sentence was not executed—so great was the clemency of Frederick William.'—*Lives of the Queens of Prussia*, by Emma Wilshire Atkinson.

covering. His amiable wife had attained her twenty-first year on the day before that on which the battles were lost. She with her little daughter had previously been making a long visit to Homburg Castle, her beloved parental home. The Princess determined on going to Dantzic, where her husband joined her, but ere long they were obliged again to flee before the enemy. 'Through the night of misfortune,' says Baur, 'the names of the Prince and Princess William shine out like two brilliant stars.' Theirs was the inward light of heart-felt religious trust: the husband wrote to the wife, 'It was God's will to reveal himself in this struggle as the only Almighty power, and therefore the instruments were destroyed from which we hoped the most.'

All the Royal Family, except old Prince Ferdinand and his brother Henry's widow, resolved on leaving Berlin.

The King had determined on retiring to Königsberg, but did not hasten thither at once, as he was intent on collecting the fragments of his army. He was resolved to continue the war in preference to accepting the hard conditions for a treaty of peace now offered by Napoleon.

Everything seemed to be under the influence of a gloomy fatality, which overspread the whole country. Blow after blow was struck, town after town opened its gates to the conqueror, fortress after fortress fell. Cüstrin was given up to a mere handful of men; this strong fortress was delivered over to the enemy in the most ignoble manner. Stettin surrendered without firing a shot. Even Blücher gave up Lubeck. The veteran shed tears when he signed the convention. As

the taking of Cüstrin made the French masters of the Oder, the King, on hearing of that grievous loss, retreated to Graudenz on the Vistula. There the little fugitive Court remained for a few weeks, and thence Haugwitz, by the King's direction, wrote to London instructing Baron Jacobi to state that the King of Prussia was willing to accede in every respect to King George's wishes respecting Hanover.

At four o'clock on the 15th of November an alarm was given that the French had arrived nearly opposite the town on the other side of the river. The drums beat to arms, and everybody was immediately on the alert. A prisoner who was brought in gave information that two regiments of French cavalry were pressing hard on the Prussians; they however succeeded in effecting their retreat into the town, and the bridge was blown up. The King and Queen, ministers, officials, and other attendants, hastily left for Marienwerder, where they remained ten days, and thence proceeded to Ortelsburg. Here their Majesties had literally only one small scantily-furnished room in one of the wretched barns which in this village they call houses. The weather was mild and exceedingly damp. The Queen could hardly step out of the dwelling without getting up to her ancles in mud, for the village was excessively dirty. The King took a walk every morning while the room which served for sitting and bed-room was prepared for their Majesties' breakfast. The lady of honour slept in a small closet, and complained woefully of her Majesty's rest and her own being disturbed by the bugs which infested the lodging. As to the ministers and gentlemen attached to the Court, five of them occupied one small room, in

which there were two beds; they took turns in enjoying the beds, and three lay upon straw. Provisions were very scarce, they could hardly get any meat, the water was of the worst kind, and there was no possibility of procuring wine as a corrective. Yet this accommodation was superior to what they had had to put up with for ten days in their last head-quarters in a filthy beer-house at Marienwerder. 'But,' says Sir George Jackson, 'taking one thing with another, we struggle on tolerably well, and have some reason to be satisfied when we think of the privations which the poor Queen is enduring, whose dignified resignation under these distressing circumstances renders her more interesting than does her great beauty.'*

That was a time of deep depression, and there is a sad memorial of it in one of the Queen's note-books: a quotation from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, which she copied as expressive of her own feelings:

'Who never ate his bread in sorrow,
Who never spent the darksome hours
Weeping and watching for the morrow—
He knows ye not, ye gloomy powers.
To earth—this weary earth—ye bring us,
To guilt ye let us heedless go;
Then leave repentance fierce to wring us,
A moment's guilt, an age's woe.'

Ortelsburg, Dec. 5, 1806.†

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* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. pp. 52 and 53. Bentley, 1872.

† This quotation from *Wilhelm Meister* is as translated in *Memoirs of Louisa Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Charles Richardson. Bentley, 1848. There is a tradition that Queen Louisa wrote these lines with a diamond on the window of the small room she occupied. Her biographers state that she wrote the quotation in an album or a diary.

From Ortelsburg they moved to Welhau on the Pregel, and thence to Königsberg.

The very little information respecting Queen Louisa at this dark turn of her life, which we can glean from contemporary memoirs, is such as we expect to find, such as is consistent with all we know of her principles and character. The Queen was still affable and amiable, but controlled her impulsive temper, and maintained that reticence, which in her position must have been essentially necessary. We hear of her using that tact, which was her special talent; gently, carefully, but firmly she used it, to contend against the nameless perversities and contradictions which always spring up to aggravate the sorrows of a season of adversity, even in high-minded nations and families. The Queen would not allow herself to be discouraged. Herein we surely have the strongest proof we can have, that Louisa's mind, guarded by the Divine love and power in which she trusted, had retained its purity under the trials of prosperity; that the vain pleasures of the world had never taken a firm hold upon her heart, that the poison cup of flattery had not destroyed its innocence and meekness. And when the antidote was given, she did not reject the bitter cup in a rebellious spirit. She grieved over the misfortunes of her country more than over her own private troubles.

As Frederick William and Louisa sympathized with their people in this time of universal distress, so also did the people sympathize with their King and Queen. The sect of the Mennonites, a poor simple-minded set of people, deputed Abraham Nickell, one of their number, to present the little sum of 2000 gold Fredericks, which they had collected among themselves, to

offer as a token of love and respect to their sovereign. As Abraham presented the bag of coins, he said, 'We, thy faithful subjects of the sect of the Mennonites, having heard of the great misfortunes which it has pleased God to permit, have gladly contributed this little sum, which we beg our beloved King and ruler to accept, and we desire to assure him that the prayers of his faithful Mennonites shall not fail for him and his.' The farmer's wife who had come with him presented some fresh butter to the Queen. Her Majesty took the basket with her own hand, so graciously that the good woman felt encouraged to speak freely, in her rustic untutored way, of what they felt for the poor dear King. 'No, no,' said Frederick William, 'I am not a poor King, I am a rich King, blessed with such subjects.' He accepted the bag of gold, but when better times came he gave back the money with sincere expressions of gratitude to his faithful Mennonites. The Queen took off a shawl she was wearing, and threw it over Frau Nickell's shoulders, saying, 'Keep this as a remembrance of me.' *

To complete the disasters of the Prussian monarchy nothing was wanting but the surrender of Magdeburg, and that important bulwark was not long in falling into the hands of Marshal Ney. No sooner did the first flaming projectiles begin to descend upon their houses, than the inhabitants besieged General Kleist

* The King never lost sight of Abraham Nickell. Many years afterwards he heard that the farmer had sustained great loss through a fire which had occurred on his premises. His Majesty immediately ordered that all the buildings which had been destroyed or injured should be reconstructed at his expense; and he took personal interest in planning the new house, so as to make it a convenient and comfortable home for the old man and for his family.

the governor, with entreaties for a capitulation, and that officer saw no use in prolonging a contest which had become hopeless. This important frontier town, the bulwark of the monarchy, with its redoubtable ramparts, still untouched, and not even an outwork lost, containing twelve thousand troops in arms, six hundred pieces of cannon, a pontoon train complete, and immense magazines of all sorts,—fell into the hands of the enemy, who hardly mustered a greater force outside its walls.*

Perhaps these stunning calamities rendered Queen Louisa less sensitive than she might otherwise have been to the pain which the malicious bulletins in the *Telegraph* must have caused. This was an official daily paper, printed at Berlin under the inspection of the French ruling power. Its object was to put the news of the day in such a light as should tend to draw the people away from their allegiance to their legitimate sovereign, and to infuse such ideas as should make them ready to bend their necks to receive the yoke of the victor. Soon after the French had entered Berlin it was circulated all over the city. The first insulting bulletin aimed at the Queen of Prussia appeared when the war was beginning. The following is an extract:—'They have given us a rendezvous for the 8th; never did a Frenchman refuse such an appeal; we are told that a beautiful Queen is to be a spectator of the combat; let us then be courteous, and march without resting for Saxony. . . . The Queen of Prussia is with the army dressed as an Amazon, bearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, writing twenty letters a day to spread the conflagration in all

* Alison's *History of Europe*. 4th edition, 5th vol. pp. 839-40.

directions. We seem to behold Armida in her madness setting fire to her own palace. After her follows Prince Louis of Prussia, a young prince full of bravery and courage, hurried on by party spirit, who flatters himself he shall find renown in the vicissitudes of war. Following the example of these illustrious persons all the Court cries To arms! but when war shall have reached them with all its horrors, all will seek to exculpate themselves, for having been instrumental in bringing its thunders on the peaceful plains of the north.'

The 9th bulletin, dated from Weimar, Oct. 17, 1806, again insulted the Queen.

'The Emperor is lodged in the palace of Weimar, where the Queen of Prussia was lodged a few days ago. It seems that what is said of her is true. She was here to fan the flames of war. She is a woman who has a pretty face, but very little sense, incapable of foreseeing the consequences of what she does. To-day we must pity rather than accuse her, for she must feel great remorse for the mischief she has done to her country, and for the way in which she has exercised her influence over her husband, the King, whom every one represents as a good man who desired peace and prosperity for his people.'

'All the world accuses the Queen as the author of all the calamities which have befallen the Prussian nation. After her ridiculous journey to Erfurth and Weimar, the Queen entered Berlin a fugitive and alone. Among the standards we have taken are those embroidered by the hands of this Princess, whose beauty has been as fatal to her people as that of Helen was to the citizens of Troy.'

These cruel and unjust sarcasms had no power to turn away the hearts of the Prussian people from the 'mother of the country' whom they knew and loved so well; on the contrary, the indignation which they excited, and the sympathy which they created, increased the Queen's popularity, and nothing contributed more to produce that profound irritation against France, which in the later years of the war pervaded all classes of its inhabitants, than the harshness and injustice with which Napoleon, to whom chivalrous feelings were unknown, treated in the days of her misfortune that captivating and high-spirited Princess.* These insults were likely to produce at the moment a transient effect on the minds of strangers and foreigners who knew Louisa only by common report. As to the English people, what they very generally thought about the startling events and bulletins, is perhaps fairly exemplified by one striking instance. Reginald Heber, then in his 24th year, having gained a scholarship at Oxford, was refreshing himself by making a continental tour. On the 12th of September, 1806, he arrived at Berlin, and must consequently have been there when the King and Queen started for Naumburg, and when detachments of the troops were marching off in grand array. Excited by the martial sights and sounds Heber's poetical imagination produced a few melodious verses as he strolled under the falling linden leaves; but they evince little sympathy with Brandenburg. The first idea which suggested itself to the poet was a vision of dismembered Poland; and Prussia appeared, not as an eagle but as a vulture. This figure was, no doubt,

* Alison.

called up by an unexpressed thought of Hanover; according to that impulse of our fallen nature which leads men and nations to look back and seek for an old and almost forgotten grievance to keep company with a new one. At that time an Englishman could not think of Hanover without feeling a thrill of indignation which made retribution seem just, and almost worthy of admiration. The affair of Hanover was an event of the current year. The Cabinets of Berlin and London had become reconciled, but public opinion, which, when tempestuously excited, cannot instantly be quelled, was still surging angrily against the rock of offence. Many Englishmen, who imperfectly understood the complicated political question, attempted to draw a parallel between the cases of Poland and Hanover, although they differed materially. Very soon afterwards, when Reginald Heber had heard more of what had occurred, and had reflected on it, he expressed a different sentiment, an ardent desire that his own country, for honour's sake, would hasten to aid the distressed nation, writhing under the yoke of the despot.

'Enough of vengeance! By the glorious dead,
Who bravely fell where youthful Louis led,*
By Blücher's sword in fiercest danger tried,
And the true heart that burst when Brunswick died;
By her whose charms the coldest zeal might warm,
The manliest firmness in the firmest form,
Save Europe, save the remnant!
Friend of the friendless, Albion! where art thou?
Child of the Sea, whose wing-like sails are spread,
The covering cherub of the ocean's bed!
The storm and tempest render peace to thee,
And the wild roaring waves a stern security.

* Prince Louis Ferdinand.

> But hope not thou in Heaven's own strength to ride,
> Freedom's loved ark on broad Oppression's tide;
> If virtue leave thee, if thy careless eye
> Glance in contempt on Europe's agony.
> Wing, wing your course a prostrate world to save,
> Triumphant squadrons of Trafalgar's wave.'

This extract is taken from a poem of considerable length, on the state of Europe. Heber wrote it at different times, and under the pressure of various occupations. He began it as he wandered near the broad Elbe, 'by Dresden's glittering spires,' when the short decisive war between France and Prussia was breaking out; but he did not finish it till 1809, after he had taken orders, and had married and settled at Hodnet, a village in Shropshire.

CHAPTER IX.

FOLLOWING the march of his victorious armies, Napoleon continued his progress by Weimar, Naumburg, Wittenberg, and Potsdam, towards Berlin. On the march he passed the field of Rosbach, on which he looked with interest; and he set his sappers to work to remove the column erected in honour of the famous Prussian victory, which his own soldiers had thrown down. Napoleon gave orders that the trophy should be preserved from further injury, and transported to Paris. Arrived at Potsdam, with eager haste he visited Sans-Souci. Everything in the apartments of the illustrious Frederick remained as when he expired; the book which he read shortly before his death remained on the table; the furniture was as he left it. The hands of the little antiquated clock pointed to the hour of his decease, but perhaps the attendants did not repeat to the Emperor the story they invariably told the young cadets—that the clock had stopped of its own accord at the moment when the great King breathed his last in the old arm-chair. By a very singular coincidence, Napoleon visited the sepulchre in the Garrison church on the anniversary of the day on which Alexander and Frederick William,

just a year before, had stood on the same spot. Such had been the confusion of the Prussians, so hasty had been their flight, that on the tomb there still remained the cordon of the black eagle, the scarf and sword which Frederick had worn in the Seven Years' War, and the standards of his guard. Nothing could have more power to touch Napoleon's heart than a sword which had won what men call immortal fame rusting above the hero's narrow silent grave. A generous emotion arose in his breast. 'Gentlemen,' he said to the officers who accompanied him, 'this was one of the greatest commanders of whom history has made mention.' Dust had accumulated over the tomb, on which Napoleon traced a large N, remarking as he did so, 'If he were alive now I should not stand here.' But even at that solemn moment unworthy feelings gained the ascendancy; he took possession of the venerable relics and sent them off to Paris, intending to present them to the Hôtel des Invalides. The conqueror manifested his respect for the deathless fame of Prussia's hero-king by issuing a proclamation that in honour of the memory of Frederick II. Potsdam should be exempted—should be subject to no contribution. This seems to be really magnanimous; but the glory of anything that Napoleon did at Potsdam is sullied by the disgraceful bulletin in the *Telegraph*,* which

* 17th bulletin, Potsdam, October 23, 1806.

'It is remarked as singular that the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Potsdam, and went into the same apartment on the same day, almost at the same hour, that the Emperor of Russia came last year. It was then that the Queen gave up all domestic affairs, and the grave occupations of the toilet, to meddle in state affairs, to influence the King, and to spread the fire, which was consuming herself. The result of the oath taken over the tomb of the Great Frederick, Nov. 4, 1805, has been the battle of

described his visit to that town: deeply disgraceful, not to those who were wounded by the poisoned arrows of untruthful and malicious satire, but to him who took the aim and drew the bow.

Napoleon's short stay at Potsdam did not for a moment interrupt the movements of the corps immediately around the person of the Emperor. On the same day Marshal Davoust headed the splendid vanguard which with all the pomp of war entered Berlin. No words can describe the mingled feelings of rage, astonishment, and despair which animated the inhabitants at this heart-rending spectacle, occurring in less than a fortnight after hostilities had been commenced. With speechless grief they gazed on the proud array which defiled through their gates. On the same day the fortress of Spandau surrendered without firing a shot, and Napoleon, after inspecting that stronghold, on the day following made his triumphal entry into the capital. He was anxious to lacerate the feelings of the Prussians, to punish them for ten years of subservience to his will, and ten days of warfare. He had been far less severe to the Austrians in return for the inveterate hostility of twelve campaigns. Surrounded therefore by all the splendour of the empire, in the midst of a brilliant staff, and preceded by his

Austerlitz, and the evacuation of Germany by the Russian army. Forty-eight hours afterwards an engraving illustrating this subject was in all the shops, which caused much laughter. It shows the handsome Emperor of Russia, near him the Queen, and on the other side the King with his hand uplifted over the tomb of Frederick. The Queen, in a shawl very like that which the London caricatures give to Lady Hamilton, leans her hand on her heart, as she seems to look at the Emperor of Russia. One cannot imagine how the Berlin police can have allowed such a shocking satire to be circulated.'

dragoon guards, he made his triumphal entry under the arch erected to the honour of the great Frederick, advanced through an innumerable crowd, proceeded through the streets, and alighted at the gates of the old palace.*

In the total absence of any authority flowing from the King, the citizens of Berlin had besought Prince Hatzfeld to take for the present the direction of affairs, and to assume the command of the Burgher Guard. The Prince accepted the temporary office, and in so doing he issued a proclamation to this effect: 'Nothing now remains for us but to assume a pacific attitude; our cares should not extend beyond what is within our own walls: that constitutes our sole interest, and it is of the highest importance that we should bestow our exclusive attention on it.' Prince Hatzfeld narrowly escaped losing his life. Napoleon discovering that he had held some secret communication with Prince Hohenlohe, ordered him to be arrested and shot. Assisted by the French General, Berthier, who delayed the execution, the wife of the condemned nobleman threw herself into Napoleon's way, and pleaded with him successfully for her husband's life. Fortunately Von Stein was in Berlin, as for the last six or seven years he had held the office of President of the Board of Trade. He had not basked in the full sunshine of royal favour, because, without regard to his own interest, he had, perhaps too importunately, urged the King to remove the incapable and in some respects immoral men who had thrust themselves between him and his ministers; and who had stood in the way of a firm and united policy. Now his faithfulness was

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. v. pp. 846, 847.

shown by his endeavours to arouse all the powers of the country to furnish the enormous sums which were demanded, and by his efforts to inspire the people with a courageous spirit which should be one day capable of throwing off the yoke of France.*

Having secured the treasure, Von Stein soon followed the King to Königsberg. Fully convinced himself of the urgent necessity for reform in the administration, he endeavonred to persuade the King; but Frederick William liked to judge and decide for himself. Von Stein earnestly desired to serve him, but the energy of the one was incompatible with the over-circumspection of the other; slow resolves could not produce prompt measures. But there was one who stood, as it were, between the King and the Baron who understood both those different but equally excellent characters: one who perceived that the quick glance of genius which looked over things as a whole, and the patient reflective mind which weighed, and measured, and compared, might work together for good. Queen Louisa was very thankful when Von Stein arrived; she used to say that when he was at the head of affairs she could always look up and see a little light somewhere. Louisa was glad to be able to converse with him. She was now thinking day and night of her country, exerting all her powers to deliver it out of the hands of the enemy. The mind and conduct of Von Stein was under the control of that strong sense of duty which keeps a man steadfast through evil report and good report, in spite of misrepresentations and ingratitude; but no doubt the regard he felt for the Queen, her sympathy, her assurances that if he would be patient

* *Religious Life in Germany*, by William Baur.

all would be well, encouraged him when he was manfully struggling against a complicated opposition—against the democratic principles of the age—against the arbitrary will of a foreign despot, and against fellow-countrymen in whom he had no confidence. Queen Louisa saw how sorely he was tried. One day, playing on the signification of his name Stein (the German for *stone*), she said to Madame de Berg, 'I do not wonder that Stein (*stone*) is petrified to stone, and that he is hard to deal with.'

Von Stein was a thorn in Napoleon's side; he knew there was not another man in Prussia who so keenly saw through all his ambitious schemes, not one who was so determined to frustrate them, and so capable of doing it. Both Napoleon and Von Stein had aspiring minds, but their exalted feelings and views were of an essentially different nature. Both were of course subject to the universal law, by which a great man is compelled to rise and rest on those beneath him, as the summit of the pillar is supported by all that is below it:—but in an important respect the high-bred Prussian nobleman was superior to the French Emperor. Von Stein could not use base instruments and ungenerous means to further the unselfish and disinterested objects he had at heart. Napoleon, as we have seen, could use means perfectly unjustifiable when he wished to have a man arrested and shot; and he could condescend to use the official bulletins and the scandalous *Telegraph* when he aimed, not at the life, but at the reputation of a victim. The cruel bulletin against the Duke of Brunswick appears altogether inexcusable when we remember the circumstances under which it came out. The age and rank

of the Duke; the honourable wounds he had received on the field of battle, from which it was well known he could not recover; and the noble letter he had written, commending to Napoleon's consideration the people living on his forfeited estates.

'If the Duke of Brunswick,' says the bulletin, 'has richly deserved the animadversions of the French people, he has also incurred that of the Prussian army and people: of the latter, who reproach him as one of the authors of the war; of the former, who complain of his manœuvres and military conduct. The false calculations of the young may be pardoned, but the conduct of that old Prince, aged 72, is an excess of insanity, and his catastrophe can excite no regret. What can there be respectable in grey hairs, when to the faults of age it unites the inconsiderateness and folly of youth? For these extravagances he has justly incurred the forfeiture of all his dominions.'*

The Duke had been withdrawn from the field of battle in a pitiable state. Not a complaint escaped him, not a word unworthy of a brave man. He said to the surgeon who dressed his wound, 'I shall always be blind;—well, that is not so bad at my age.' He was conveyed to his own castle at Brunswick, but almost immediately on his arrival was advised to fly, because the French were rapidly advancing. The generous-hearted old man could not understand his own danger. He said, 'I have long known the French, they will respect an old general wounded on the field of battle. I am sure there is a courier on the road, sent by the Emperor to know how I am.' On being told by his minister that his presence in Brunswick

* *Alison's History of Europe*, 4th edition, vol. v. p. 852, *note*.

would aggravate the horrors of military occupation he yielded, consenting to be removed. Being too weak to bear the journey, the Duke expired on the second day after his arrival at Altona.* His son raised a fine corps of 2000 men; these hussars wore a black uniform, whence they were called the Black Brunswickers. With a death's-head for their crest, and vengeance as their acknowledged object, they went forth hoping to conquer, and thus recover the confiscated dominions, but failing in the attempt, they marched to the mouth of the Weser, and embarked for England. On the 17th and 18th of June, 1815, the Black Brunswickers had ample opportunity for taking their revenge, but they again lost the head of the family; another Duke of Brunswick fell at Quatre Bras.

All the scandalous bulletins concur in proving that the Emperor of France was trying to lower the rulers of Prussia in the eyes of the people. They are perfectly in accordance with a speech which Napoleon made at Berlin:—'I will render that *noblesse* so poor that they shall be obliged to beg their bread.' The despot was endeavouring to quench the flames of a generous loyalty, which he found had not been extinguished by misfortune. Prussia was a very loyal kingdom, because the King and Queen had gained a firm hold on public esteem and affection.

In the depth of disappointment and misery the people generally acknowledged that the conduct of their Queen had been admirable during that trying time which preceded the battles of Auerstadt and

* From *Life and Adventures of Count Beugnot*. Edited from the French, by Charlotte M. Yonge. Vol. i. p. 308.

Jena. They said—'Before the day of battle she showed the courage of a heroine, and afterwards the resignation of a Christian.' Louisa's ardent patriotism had made her almost idolized, and a proud nation never can forgive those who attempt to bring its Royal Family under shame and dishonour.

Napoleon summoned the Prussian statesmen, and other persons of consideration in Berlin, and on that occasion, when they were assembled, he spoke of the Queen, saying that she had urged on the war. The Prussian gentlemen, taken by surprise and restrained by fear, did not instantly reply, though they felt wounded by this remark: but a brave old clergyman of good position, named Erman, dared to say in a clear firm voice—'Sire, that is not true.' He afterwards acknowledged that, when he had spoken the words, he commended his soul to God, for he expected to be arrested, and thought of the Duke d'Enghein. Napoleon allowed the bold reply to pass without rebuke; possibly he admired the bright spark of courage struck out on the anvil of the moment.*

The Emperor of France had never met the Queen of Prussia; he had heard of her chiefly through his own emissaries, low men commonly actuated by ignoble principles and motives, and under the blinding influence of bitter party spirit. Napoleon had quite persuaded himself that Queen Louisa's character was such as he represented it to be: the constitution and bent of his mind did not render him capable of forming pure and high conceptions of female excellence. To him the marriage bond was not a sacred tie, therefore he could not understand the feeling of a wife

* *Louise eine Deutsche Königin.* Von Ludwig Brunier. Bremen, 1871.

devoted to her husband and all that belonged to him, whether it was a humble homestead or a kingdom which he possessed. The Emperor had a real horror of female politicians; he detested Madame de Staël, and the severity with which he drove her away from the neighbourhood of Paris shows the light in which he looked on women who attempted to gain any influence over national concerns.* Queen Louisa had been very much misrepresented to him; the enemies of Prussia had insinuated that the Queen had everywhere affected the style of a heroine, that vanity had led her to behave unbecomingly, and they had given malignantly exaggerated descriptions of the favours and encouragements which, by the King's desire, she had bestowed on the troops. The Emperor had listened and believed, and the dislike he felt to the Queen of Prussia, or rather to his own conception of her, founded on the false reports which had been given to him, was unfeigned.

It is said that when Napoleon first saw a fine portrait of Queen Louisa in the Palace at Potsdam he was very much struck with it, acknowledged his surprise on finding the countenance and expression unlike what he had expected to see, and that he asked several questions concerning her. All the palace doors were obliged to be thrown open to him, and the servants of the Royal Family could not do otherwise than receive

* The clear-sighted Madame de Staël weighed, measured, and valued the unstable grandeur of the French Empire with her firm, correct judgment. Napoleon was not indifferent to her prognostications, nor unmoved by them. He wrote—'Cette femme est un vrai corbeau. Elle croyait la tempête deja arrivée, et se repaissait d'intrigues et de folies. Qu'elle s'en aille dans son Leman.'—*Histoire de Napoleon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. 3rd edition. Paris, 1870.

the Emperor respectfully, and take his orders as if he were their master.

In the Queen's apartments at Potsdam and Charlottenburg was found her correspondence with the King during three years; also memorandums, and notes, and various papers, which fell into the hands of the enemy. Her Majesty's flight had been too much hurried to allow her time for securing papers of importance and destroying the remainder.

The nineteenth bulletin describes the manner in which the King of Prussia's palaces were treated (according to the Napoleonic version). That bulletin is one of those which proves the truth of Sir Archibald Alison's comment on the extraordinary mixture of truth and falsehood which characterizes the French official accounts of that campaign. See his remark on the injustice done to Davoust, the real hero of Auerstadt, whose achievements on that day were far more wonderful than Napoleon's.*

Count Philip de Segur, who was with the French Emperor in the Prussian palaces, afterwards related that at Charlottenburg Napoleon went into the Queen's bed-room, searched her cabinet, and found therein private letters, which made him fully aware of the aversion which the Queen felt towards himself. The discovery irritated him, although one would have thought he could scarcely have expected to read pleas-

* Davoust was the real hero of the day, Napoleon's own achievements were as nothing compared with his. Yet in the fourth bulletin the Emperor, after fully relating his own performances, dismisses the wonderful exploits of Davoust in the following words:—'On our right the corps of Marshal Davoust performed prodigies.' The manifest injustice is admitted even by Napoleon's eulogists.—See *Alison's History of Europe*, 4th edition. Vol. v. pp. 816, 817, *note*.

ant things of himself. This was the true cause of his malicious rancour against Queen Louisa, of the base insinuations he published in the bulletins of the Grand Army, and of the abominable insults which appeared in the *Telegraph.* *

The Emperor, shortly after his arrival in Berlin, paid a visit of condolence to the aged Prince Ferdinand, who was mourning the loss of his brave son, Louis Ferdinand. Napoleon also bestowed the most polite attentions on the widow of Prince Henry, and on the Princess Electoral of Hesse-Cassel, although he deprived the Elector of his dominions. That was a hard case, as the sovereign Prince of Hesse-Cassel had not fought at Jena, he had only permitted the Prussians to pass through his territories, which he could not have prevented, had he desired to do so. Moreover, Napoleon had repeatedly set the example of violating neutral

* 19th bulletin, Charlottenburg, 27th October, 1806. 'To give an idea of the extreme confusion which reigns in this monarchy, it is enough to say that the Queen on her return from her ridiculous and melancholy journeys to Erfurth and Weimar, passed the night in Berlin without seeing any one. A long time elapsed before they had any news of the King. No one provided for the safety of the capital; the citizens were obliged to assemble and institute a provisional government. In the Queen's private apartments at Potsdam and Charlottenburg her correspondence with the King has been found, a correspondence of three years, and memorandums and papers written by English writers arguing that they ought not to depend on the treaties concluded with Napoleon, but to turn entirely to Russia. These documents above all are historical. They show, if that need to be shown, how unfortunate are those princes who allow women to hold any influence over political affairs. Notes, reports, state-papers, were all in disorder, smelling of musk, and mixed with other articles of the Queen's toilet. This Princess had turned the heads of all the women in Berlin, but now there is a great change. The first runaways having been unkindly received, and ironically reminded of the day when they sharpened their swords for the battle, are now denying everything, and disagreeing among themselves.'

ground. Fortunately the Elector had a great deal of property besides his land, and he secretly put it all into the hands of Mayer Anselm de Rothschild. The Jew proved to be a very shrewd and honest man—courageously honest, for his integrity was tried. He lived among his people in the narrow filthy Judengasse of Frankfort, and as yet his name was little known beyond that town. It is pleasant to trace back a prosperous and powerful family to a highly honourable beginning, to see that the foundation-stone of the house was laid in truth and equity.*

Meanwhile negotiations for a separate peace between France and Prussia had been going on. The King's misfortunes made it almost indispensable that a respite should be obtained on any terms. At first it seemed likely that an agreement would be arrived at, as Frederick William was prepared to make very great concessions. But the King fell deeper and deeper into misfortune; as he lost his towns and strongholds, and as his fortunes sunk, Napoleon's demands rose, and at last diverging entirely from their original object, they required Prussia to consent to measures which would have been injurious to England and Russia. Reft as he was of kingdom and army, the King still preserved his honour, and boldly declared his resolution to stand or fall with the Emperor of Russia. This refusal to accede to the proposed terms was anticipated by Napoleon. It reached him at Posen, whither he had advanced on his road to the Vistula; and nothing remained but to enter as vigorously as possible on the war in Poland.†

* See *Introductory Sketch of Prussian History*, pp. 7, 8.

† Alison.

Napoleon had taken care to enlist the patriotism of the Poles on his side. The Prussian Poles had sent a deputation to him at Berlin, which he had received graciously. In reply to their address, he had said: 'When I see thirty or forty thousand Poles in arms I will proclaim your independence at Warsaw, and when it comes from me it will be unshakable.' He was collecting together from all parts of the Empire the Polish officers serving in the French army (he had sent to Italy for Dombroski), and charged them with the duty of enrolling and organizing their countrymen. The cause of Poland had become very popular in France, because a large number of Poles had for some time past been serving in the French army, the Polish legions had mingled their blood with that of the French on many a glorious battle-field, and this fraternity in arms had produced a mutual sympathy between the people of those nations.

When therefore Napoleon as a mighty conqueror approached the Polish provinces the inhabitants flocked out to meet him, trying to read the secret of their destiny in the mysterious words which fell from his mouth, sometimes obscure, sometimes reassuring. Historians have not yet settled the questions whether Napoleon could have re-established Poland, and whether if he could he would have done it.*

That the re-establishment of that kingdom was an eminently just cause, a reparation necessary to the balance of power in Europe, was at this time generally understood; it was a truth which history had undertaken to prove, and which it had made clearly evident. Napoleon had not failed to invoke this grand argument

* *Histoire de Napoléon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. 3rd edition. Paris, 1870.

in his diplomatic manifestoes. Every time that he had had to justify his own invasions and usurpations, he invariably represented them as legitimate reprisals in return for the partition of Poland.*

An article appeared in the *Moniteur* declaring the spoliation of Poland to be the most infamous injustice of which history makes mention. Soon afterwards, in the same journal, was published a proclamation to which Kosciusko's name was affixed: its object being to urge the Poles to range themselves under the banner of the invincible Emperor of the French. Kosciusko immediately denied having had anything to do with the proclamation. Napoleon little expected this opposition to his will: his own word was so easily broken that he could not understand the Polish hero's honourable determination to abide by his promise.

The year which had proved so unfortunate for Prussia was drawing to its close. When its last days were passing away the whole of North Germany was overrun with French troops, while a hundred thousand were assembling to meet the formidable legions of Russia and the fragments of the Prussian army in the heart of Poland. Frederick William mustered all the troops he could command, and sent them to Alexander.

While the King and Queen of Prussia were residing at Königsberg, the news of the battle of Pultusk, fought on the 26th of December, reached that town. It was considered a Russian victory, although the French so far retrieved the honour of the day, that they could also claim it as their own. The people of Königsberg preferred to believe in it as a Russian success, which accordingly they announced

* *Histoire de Napoleon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. 3rd edition. Paris, 1870.

in the customary way: it was trumpeted forth by postilions. Then the whole town rushed out to meet the courier, and greeted him with joyful shouts, waving hats and handkerchiefs. An immense crowd ushered him in, and proceeded with him to the Princess of Solm's palace, where the King and Queen were residing. All the Royal Family came to the window; the Queen was there with her children, looking very ill, for she had been confined to her bed for a fortnight with nervous fever. Thus was this transient gleam of prosperity delighted in.

On New-year's day, 1807, the King and his family were still at Königsberg, although the advance of the French had made it appear necessary that they should move eastward. On the morning of that day, when the children were all assembled around their parents exchanging the New-year's good wishes, the King, with that genial gravity for which he was remarkable, said to his second son, 'William, I have nominated you to a commission in the army; you are going to Memel, and I might not have been able to give you the appointment on your birthday, as I had intended to do, therefore I give it you now.' The little prince, not quite ten years old, was well pleased to see himself attired in the undress uniform of the Guards—a blue coat with a red collar, such as is now worn by the Royal chamberlains, narrow dark trousers, high boots mounting to the knees; and a walking-stick completed the equipment. Before the close of that year powder and queue had disappeared from the Prussian army; but in the spring, when Prince William first put on his military dress, they were required by the regulations. His hair was too short to plait into a tail, therefore a

false one called a patent queue was tied on, and a small light cane was put into his hand. It was well that this important tenth birth-day had been thus anticipated, for when it came it was marked by misfortune. Prince William was attacked on that day by the same low fever from which his mother and his brother Charles had previously suffered. Surely family affection is the deepest, most unfailing source of earthly happiness. Parents sorely tried by the troubles of the world may still maintain domestic peace in a home of love; and the little ones as they grow up cherish most grateful recollections of the warm nest in which they were sheltered when the stormy winds rocked the branch on which it rested. But young birds must fly when they have strength to take wing.*

Prince William first faced the French in a battle fought on the banks of the Rhine, opposite Manheim, before he had completed his seventeenth year. Thus at an early age, and in very dark days, His

* In the spring of 1873, the Emperor William spent a short time at Königsberg on his way to St Petersburg. With the liveliest interest he looked on all that had been familiar to him in his youthful days. He remembered the battles fought by himself, his brother, and their companions, against the rats and mice which infested the old palace. His Majesty drove out to the simple summer residence which his family had occupied occasionally when the Court resided in East Prussia. The Emperor went into every room, and from thence to the park on the other side of the high road, which had served as a play-ground to the royal children. A linden tree has been planted there in memory of the glorious victories of 1870-71, and the spot is to be adorned by a marble statue in memory of Queen Louisa. The Emperor, who always sets the example of acknowledging the blessings of prosperity in a spirit of gratitude, rather than of pride, remarked in his reply to the Burgo-master's address, that he saw nothing in their recent success which should make the nation haughty or over-confident as to the future.—German official newspapers and *Swiss Times* of May 6, 1873.

Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Germany, began his military life. From a professional point of view the time was fortunate, as many important improvements, indeed a perfect reformation in the art of war, was gradually effected while the princes were studying and gaining their first experience in active service. The younger brother was naturally gifted with those talents which develop under a military education.

Not long ago, the Emperor, when conversing with several of his generals, told them that in his younger days he had never expected to ascend the throne, there was no apparent probability that he would outlive and succeed his brother. He had therefore grown up under the feeling that his life must be devoted to the profession of arms, and he thought that by persevering in that course he should best fulfil his duty to his King and fatherland.*

In 1806-7, the old Royal castle of Königsberg was inhabited by persons holding official appointments, and a portion of it was occupied by the Landhofmeister Von Auerswald. That gentleman had three sons, who became companions and friends to the young princes. Prince William attached himself especially to Rudolph Von Auerswald, who in after life became a faithful and useful servant to his King and country. The Princess Frederica of Solms Braunfels, who had a house at Königsberg, gladly received their Majesties and the Royal children, who for some months resided with her: the companionship of her sister was very comforting to the Queen, on whom troubles accumulated. Her third son, Prince Frederick Charles, between five and six years old, was attacked

* *Das Kleine Buch Von Kaiser Wilhelm.* Buchting.

by typhus fever. Hufeland, who was at Dantzic attending on the Princess William, was sent for to Königsberg; the child recovered, but his mother took the fever and was exceedingly ill. Hufeland, in his journal, describes the anxious night he spent on the 22nd of December. 'The Queen was in the utmost danger, and all night long the wind howled terrifically; to which, even at that moment, they could not be indifferent, for a ship was at sea bringing to Königsberg jewels and other valuables still belonging to the crown, or to the Royal Family. The wind was so strong it blew down a gable of the old castle. By the blessing of God the Queen passed over the crisis of the fever, and was beginning to rally, when suddenly came the news that the French were approaching. It was feared that the Queen was not strong enough to bear removal, and it was therefore put off as long as possible; but she begged to be taken away, quoting the words of King David, "I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man."' *

The snow was falling heavily and a high wind was drifting it, when the Queen was placed on a bed in the carriage, supported with pillows, covered with plumaux, and wrapped round with shawls. Prince Charles also was still very delicate from the effects of the fever, and required the utmost care. They were three days in getting to Memel, travelling across the country, along the Strand, a narrow tongue of sand between the Baltic and the Kurische-haff, terminating in the ferry which crosses to Memel. The road is worth travelling, on account of its singularity, but under the pressure

* 2 Samuel xxiv. 14.

of circumstances, and through very boisterous weather which shed only a fitful gleam now and then upon the landscape or the sea, the journey seemed rough and tedious.

'The Queen,' says Dr Hufeland, 'spent the first night in a miserable room with a broken window, and we found the melting snow was dropping on her bed. We were very much alarmed on Her Majesty's account, but she was full of trust and courage, and the fortitude with which she suffered gave us strength to act. I cannot express how thankful we felt when we came within sight of Memel, and just at that moment the sun burst gloriously through the clouds for the first time since we had been on this journey, and we hailed it as a happy augury.'

But the sufferings of the Royal fugitives were as nothing compared with those of the brave soldiers who were enduring the hardships and horrors of one of the most terrible campaigns described on the pages of history. 'Never did two armies pass a night under more awful and impressive circumstances than did the rival hosts that lay without tent or covering on the snowy expanse of the field of Eylau. The close vicinity of the two armies, the vast multitude assembled in so narrow a space, intent only on mutual destruction; the wintry wildness of the scene, cheered only by the watch-fires which threw a partial glow on the snow-clad heights around; the shivering groups which in either army lay round the blazing fires, which did not melt the impenetrable ice; the stern resolution of the soldiers in the one array, the enthusiastic ardour of those in the other; the glory of Russia and France dependent on the efforts of the mightiest armament

that either had yet sent forth,—all contributed to produce a feeling of extraordinary solemnity, which reached the most thoughtless mind, and kept unclosed many a wearied eyelid, notwithstanding the extraordinary fatigues of the preceding days.' * A large body of Russians occupied the church and churchyard above the little town, whose name they were to print on their country's annals. When the battle was over, thousands were sleeping the sleep of death, and as many more were staining the pure white snow with streams of blood.

Napoleon did not arrive at Königsberg as soon as he had expected to do, for he met with a check which he had not anticipated. He was not positively defeated at Eylau, although at one time the Russians seemed to have gained the day. But fortune turned, and the French kept their ground and claimed the victory. The Russians also maintained order, and did not flee before the enemy. Such, however, had been the havoc made in the French army during the sanguinary conflict, that the Emperor did not venture to advance against Königsberg, although the steeples of that town were visible from the heights occupied by his troops. For nine days after the battle the French remained on those hills, unable to advance, and unwilling to retreat; Napoleon seemed to be awaiting some pacific overture from the enemy. When, however, he found that the Russians were not disposed to propose an armistice, he determined on doing so himself. He sent proposals of peace both to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Benningsen, the Russian General, sent the French envoy on to Memel with a letter to the King

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. p. 71.

of Prussia, strongly advising him not to treat, and representing that the very fact of Napoleon proposing an armistice after so doubtful a battle, was the best evidence that it was not for the interest of the allies to grant it.

The terms proposed by Napoleon were very different from those which he offered after the battle of Jena, but Frederick William was not led to swerve from the path of honour by a tempting offer, and the Prussian government, notwithstanding the almost desperate state of their affairs, and the occupation of nine-tenths of their territories by the enemy's forces, refused to engage in any separate negotiation.* At that moment Napoleon offered to restore to the King of Prussia all his dominions, as possessed by him before the war, without restricting him in any way as to the alliances he might conclude, provided there was no question of either Russia or England in this treaty.

General Bertrand, who was sent by Napoleon to Memel to negotiate this proposal of peace, was also charged with a message from the Emperor of the French to the Queen of Prussia. The General said that the Emperor Napoleon had been most completely deceived respecting Her Majesty, that no one was now more ready than he to do justice to her many virtues, and nothing would give him so much satisfaction as to pay his court to her at Berlin, and to assure her of his sentiments in person. Queen Louisa was not at all duped by these polite expressions.†

Foiled in his endeavours to seduce Prussia into a separate accommodation, Napoleon was driven to the

* Alison.

† *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 98.

painful alternative of a retreat. Eylau was evacuated, and six hundred wounded abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. Benningsen hastened to occupy the country which the enemy had quitted, and as he passed over the bloody fields, still strewn with the unburied dead and other remains of the desperate contest, he felt that he and his brave Russians had not been beaten, and he issued a proclamation in which he openly claimed the victory. Napoleon addressed his soldiers with his usual boastful confidence, but it was impossible to conceal from them, or from Europe, that the Grand Army had now for the first time retreated. All the world looked upon it as a melancholy fact that fifty thousand men had perished without giving a decisive advantage to either of the combatants.*

About a month after the battle of Eylau had occurred, an event took place which excited a less general feeling of interest among men and nations, but from which very important consequences have arisen; and we have firm grounds for believing that in time to come wonderful results will be completely worked out under the special providence of God.

The revenues of France did not furnish more than half of the total sum required for Napoleon's gigantic military institutions and operations. He had considered the ways and means by which this deficiency could be supplied, and his thoughts had been directed to the Jews.

'On the 9th of March, A.D. 1807, by command of the Emperor, a grand convocation of the Jews assembled in Paris. Seventy-one doctors and chiefs of that ancient nation attended this great assembly; the

* Alison.

first meeting of the kind which had occurred since the dispersion of the Israelites on the capture of Jerusalem. For seventeen hundred years the children of Israel had sojourned as strangers in foreign realms; reviled, oppressed, persecuted, without a capital, without a government, without a home; far from the tombs of their forefathers, banished from the land of their ancestors; but preserving unimpaired, amidst all their calamities, their traditions, their usages, their faith; exhibiting in every nation of the earth a lasting miracle to attest the verity of the Christian prophecies. On this occasion the great Sanhedrim, or assembly, published the result of their deliberations, calculated to remove from the Israelites a portion of that odium under which they had so long laboured in all the nations of Christendom; and Napoleon took them under his protection, and, under certain modifications, admitted them to the privileges of his empire. This first approach to a reunion and settlement of the Jews, impossible under any other circumstances but the rule of so great a conqueror as Napoleon, is very remarkable. The immediate cause of it doubtless was the desire of the Emperor to secure the support of so numerous and opulent a body as the Jews of Old Prussia, Poland, and the southern provinces of Russia, which was of great importance to the contest in which he was engaged; but it is impossible not to see in its result a step in the development of Christian prophecy.' *

The King of Prussia and his family were living very quietly at Memel, where the Queen was gradually recovering her strength after the severe attack of typhus fever. Memel numbered at that time about 6000 in-

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. pp. 233, 234.

habitants; it was a clean town, and afforded better accommodation for the court than did the dirty old city of Königsberg. At Memel, things struck young Mr George Jackson as being more home-like, somewhat in English style. His daily life, and that of his companions, was more cheerful than it had lately been; for although Her Majesty was not well enough for receptions, yet her little court was not altogether deprived of social amusements. Her Excellency, Madame Von Voss, *La grande Maîtresse*, was exceedingly agreeable and gracious, and encouraged the young men frequently to repeat their unceremonious visits to her. 'Little did I think,' says Sir George Jackson, 'when making my first formal visit at Berlin, that I should ever be admitted to her morning toilette, but so it is, and it is droll enough to see her under the hands of her friseur, while she is laughing and flirting.' The lively old lady professed to be fond of everything English, and readily accepted little presents of wine, tea, and other things presented by her English friends.*

At Memel the King and Queen were joined by Prince and Princess William, who with their little girl, then their only child, had fled from Dantzic when that town was threatened with a siege, soon after the battle of Eylau. The child was ill, therefore unable to bear the hardships of the hasty journey, and it died on the road. The gentle mother took this grievous affliction in that spirit of perfect submission and patience for which she was so remarkable.

Still in spite of grief and care, the entirely new life which opened for the Royal Family at Memel had its

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. ii. p. 76. Bentley, London, 1872.

attractions, and they were such as the Queen and the Princess William could appreciate, such as refreshed and cheered their hearts in this season of adversity. The inhabitants of Memel were very loyal; the people in all that part of East Prussia being especially attached to the monarchy, and to the Hohenzollerns. Many of them were descendants of those Salzburg emigrants settled there by Frederick William I. The traditions connected with the exodus had not yet died out, and the old family stories had tended to keep them faithful to God and the King.*

The most vigorous inhabitants of Prussia had taken refuge in that eastern corner, in order thence to impart strength to the rest, to compensate by a concentration of moral power for the loss of territory; and to endeavour to regain what had been wrested from them. The hand of God, which was outstretched to chasten Prussia, at the same time blessed her by bringing the best men of all classes together. Thus an animated mental life was nurtured in this friendly band which gathered round the Royal Family. They all lived in the simplest possible manner, cheerfully making sacrifices to meet the heavy demands which were made upon the country. Prince William was much away on military duty; his wife and the Queen were constantly together; they led a simple, active, useful life. We are told that they found time for reading historical works; the expansive views which history gives of the destinies of nations must, under their circumstances, have been encouraging.

The Queen held a reception three times a week; on these occasions Her Majesty generally, for a certain

* See *Introductory Sketch of Prussian History*, pp. 75—82.

time, employed herself, her ladies, and those who had the honour of being invited, in making lint for the use of the wounded. Some of the gentlemen of the *corps diplomatique* were not very expert at this kind of labour, but Her Majesty was kind enough to smile encouragingly on their attempts to assist in the benevolent work.

The Court removed to Königsberg after the French had retreated from the neighbourhood of that city. Just before the change of residence the Emperor of Russia came to Memel. His Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia went to Bartenstein, as they wished to spend some quiet days together. The opportune visit turned the scale in favour of Hardenberg, who regained power; that minister still advocated an anti-French policy. While the King was at Bartenstein, the Queen, accompanied by the Princess of Solms, returned to Königsberg, where the King joined Her Majesty. Here the Queen frequently saw Madame de Krüdener; they spent much time together in the hospitals, while attending to the sick and wounded; and the friendship which thus originated in a time of trouble, proved firm and lasting. They sometimes discussed religious subjects, and the Queen retained a vivid recollection of such conversations.

These two beautiful and gifted women, the Queen and the wife of the Russian ambassador at the Court of Prussia, had first met in that gay circle in which they both had shone as superlatively brilliant stars. The scene had changed—it was a different kind of glory, illuminating the dark hours of a different kind of night. Yet not a gloomy night, but one which promised a bright to-morrow. As these Christian women

persevered in charitable work, imparting the while their own purest hopes to those who lay on the hospital beds, their faith deepened and expanded, and lifted them above their worldly troubles.

Barbara Julie de Krüdener had not had the blessing of religious education in her youthful days. She had grown up insensible to the things of eternal importance, strongly attached to the world which flattered her vanity. Her notions on religious subjects were but as the incoherent dreams of those who sleep: but she had been suddenly awakened by the shock of witnessing the instantaneous death of a friend who was struck down by apoplexy. The fear of death threw her on her knees, and suggested the first faltering attempt to pray in earnest. While this impression was fresh on her mind, her shoemaker waited upon her in compliance with orders he had received. This man was known among his neighbours as a pious Moravian. Madame de Krüdener spoke to him of the shocking death scene which had quite unnerved her. A few remarks which the man made in reply astonished her, and led her to reflect. She watched him with great interest, and was struck with his unfailing cheerfulness: she talked with him, and found that while he was fully aware of the vanity and nothingness of every earthly thing, he was still happy; and that in a most thankful spirit he watched the fading and perishing of earthly beauty. Death itself could not make him unhappy, for to him it was the pledge of resurrection,—the dark seal set on promises which could not be broken. The lady of high degree learnt much from this humble tradesman, and from the teachers of his sect, who put religious truths before her very plainly

in the simplest language. Now she was rendering back what she had received, giving the same words of comfort to suffering and dying soldiers. The Queen, Princess William, Madame de Krüdener, and other ladies, felt bound together by their common interest in the duty they had undertaken, and they helped each other by an interchange of thoughts. Afterwards, when they were separated, the Queen wrote thus to Madame de Krüdener: 'I owe a confession to you, my good friend, which I know you will receive with tears of joy. You have made me better than I was before. Your truthful words, our conversations on Christianity, have left an impression on my mind. I have thought with deeper earnestness upon these things, the existence and value of which I had indeed felt before, but I had thought lightly of them, rather guessed at them than felt assured of them. These contemplations brought me nearer to God, my faith became stronger, so that in the midst of misfortune I have never been without comfort, never quite unhappy. You will understand that I can never be perfectly miserable while this source of purest joy is open to me. I hope that I may be enabled to bear all God's dispensations, and the sorrows that are sent to purify me, with the composure and humility of a Christian. For it is in this light that I view all the close trials that bow us down. Now, I am again in the tumult of the world, promise me that you will always tell me the truth.'*

Although Napoleon still appeared to be invincible, statesmen like Stein, generals like Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Boyen, and Grolmann, poets like Schenkendorf, and orators like Süvern, began to declare that the

* This letter is more fully given in Baur's *Religious Life in Germany.*

tyrant would one day be overcome, and that when stirred to its depths the spirit of the Germans was invincible.

Blücher's words are very remarkable. He was speaking with Bourrienne, whom he met at Hamburg, whither he had gone on parole from Lubeck. 'I reckon much,' said Blucher, 'on the public spirit of Germany, on the enthusiasm which reigns in our universities. Success in war is ephemeral; but defeat itself contributes to nourish in a people the principles of honour and a passion for national glory. Be assured that when a whole people are resolved to emancipate themselves from foreign domination they will never fail to succeed. I foresee that fortune will not always favour your Emperor. The time may come when Europe in a body, humiliated by his exactions, exhausted by his depredations, will rise up in arms against him.'*

The following extracts from a letter written by Queen Louisa at Königsberg, on the 15th of May, 1807, show her sentiments at this time:—

'My dear Father,

'The departure of General Blücher gives me a safe opportunity of writing to you in full confidence; for which indeed I thank God. How long have I been denied that happiness, and how much have I longed for it! I have a great deal to tell you, for, alas! since the third week of my illness every day has been marked by some new misfortune. . . . .

'Nevertheless, I can assure you, my dear good father,

* See Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. v. p. 870.

I feel persuaded that with time all will be well, and that we shall meet again in happiness. The siege of Dantzic goes on well, the townspeople help the soldiers, and supply them with the best provisions; they will not think of capitulating, they prefer to suffer rather than to be faithless to their King. Colberg and Graudenz are also holding out admirably. Oh! if all the garrisons had acted thus! But let us forget past troubles, and turn our thoughts to God who rules our destiny—to Him who will never forsake us if we do not forsake Him. The King is with the Emperor of Russia and the army, he will stay as long as Alexander stays. This friendship, founded on mutual constancy under the pressure of adversity, is likely to be lasting; and our brightest hopes rest upon it. Only by patient perseverance can we succeed—sooner or later I am sure we shall do so. LOUISA.'

Dantzic fell, notwithstanding its brave resistance. The Prussian Court again hastily retired to Memel, and not before retreat was necessary, for the fatal though hard-fought battle of Friedland laid Königsberg open to the enemy. Napoleon gained that important victory on the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, and on the evening of the 15th Marshal Soult entered Königsberg. Immediately on hearing of that calamity the Emperor Alexander went to Srawle, Prince Zouboff's estate, and invited the King of Prussia, Hardenberg, and the foreign ministers, to meet him there, that they might consult as to what course in the present state of affairs it was expedient to pursue. They decided on proposing an armistice, and sent Benningsen on that mission to Napoleon,

who immediately acceded. It was an indefinite armistice, not to be broken without a month's notice.* Napoleon was well pleased, for it had always been his policy to offer peace to his enemies during the first tumult and consternation of defeat, and he was glad to be anticipated by advances from the hostile party. He knew that a further continuance of the contest might not be free from serious danger to France, as England had contracted a close alliance with Prussia, and might quickly appear on the field, if peace were not immediately concluded: powerful succours in arms and ammunition were already on their route, and preparations were being made to hoist the British flag on the banks of the Elbe. Nevertheless, this connection with England, so aggravating to Napoleon, impelled him to crush Prussia and her then unfortunate King with all his might and all his malice.

At this conjuncture Alexander could not do otherwise than conclude a definite treaty with France. Throughout the length and breadth of his wide dominions there was a tumultuous outcry for peace: accounts from the interior described the misery and want reigning there as beyond conception, the resources of the country were all exhausted. The people of Russia, suffering thus bitterly under the consequences of war, did not care for the Prussians; they placed no sort of confidence in the Prussian ministers, or in the feeble powers yet remaining to King Frederick William. The whole country was looking anxiously to its Polish provinces, which were in a very threatening state, for Napoleon was constantly tempting the restless

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 155. Bentley, London, 1872.

Poles to rebel against Russian rule. Moreover, the Russians well knew that they had no commander more capable than Benningsen, although lately he had lost the confidence of the army.*

Under this pressure Alexander was hardly a free agent. When he expressed a desire to persevere in the struggle, such a tempest was raised up against him as he could not withstand: a cabal such as it would be difficult to conceive the existence of in any other country but Russia or Turkey. The Grand Duke Constantine, heir-presumptive to the Imperial throne, was at the head of it; and he actually reminded his brother of their father's fate, implying that such also might be the end of his life and reign were he to resist the will of the whole nation.† For the sake of his allies, Alexander tried to make a separate treaty with France, but Napoleon would hear of nothing but a general peace.

At this crisis of European affairs England was watching, and anxiously awaiting results. During the time of suspense Mr F. Jackson wrote thus to his brother: 'It is the first article of my political creed, that Bonaparte, ever since he has been at the head of the French government, has entertained the intention of attempting the conquest of this country (England). I believe that he still entertains it, and that it is an object to which in his mind every other pursuit, whether of interest or ambition, is subordinate. In fact it must be so, for England is the only obstacle in his way to universal empire. To overcome her, he must begin, not only by interrupting her commerce, but also by neutralizing

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. ii. p. 154. Bentley, London, 1872.

† Ibid. pp. 154, 168-9.

the strong interest which the continental powers take in her fate.

'How nearly connected, then, with our best interests is this question: How far can we rely on the constancy of our allies? The Emperor Alexander's character is our surest guarantee. But is that proof against all the impressions which it is attempted to make upon him? . . . . The Emperor of Russia is the only person in his court or army on whom we can rely. His Imperial Majesty's intentions are excellent, and it is certainly no reproach to him if he is unable fully to execute them, for want of proper support from his ministers and generals. Bonaparte would not be where he now is, if it had not been for the advice and support of Talleyrand and his Marshals, Berthier, Augereau, &c.'*

The treaty between France and Russia was easily and quickly arranged. Alexander had tried the military strength of his kingdom against that of the hero of the age, whose military achievements had always excited his enthusiastic admiration: The strong legions he had brought into the field had not dishonoured Russia:—but he was beaten, and with chivalric generosity he admired the prowess that dealt the blow under which he fell. Alexander was not in any way bound to England at that time: the government of that country had disappointed him; he had therefore but little difficulty in coming to an understanding with Napoleon. France had nothing to demand of Russia, except that she should close her ports against England, withdraw her armies from Poland, and allow the Emperor to pursue his long-cherished projects of conquest

* *Letters and Diaries of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. pp. 132, 133—139.

in Turkey. The map of Europe lay before them, out of which these two mighty potentates might carve at pleasure ample indemnities for themselves, or acquisitions for their allies.* Napoleon's extraordinary mathematical genius was always ready to calculate instantaneously in the service of his unbounded selfishness. To him men were ciphers or units; nations were but multiplications of these, and national boundaries lines which he could draw according to his will, to work out the problems suggested by his egotistical spirit.

Russia concluded an armistice with France on the 21st of June; Prussia concluded one on the 25th. The town of Tilsit on the Niemen having been declared neutral, and occupied by Russian, Prussian, and French guards, the three potentates took up their quarters there, to settle the ultimate Treaty of Peace.

The following letter was written by Queen Louisa on the third day after the battle of Friedland, and the day after the enemy had entered Königsberg. It was as yet too soon for her to calculate with certainty on the results of these calamities, she could not have felt sure that the last blow was struck and the war terminated. The Queen wrote to her father:—'It was with deep emotion, and through tears of grateful affection, that I read your letter of the 14th of April. What a comfort and support it has been to me in the midst of all my trials; when one is so dearly loved one cannot be completely miserable. Yet new and crushing troubles are heaped upon us, and we are on the point of quitting the kingdom, which we feel compelled to do. Think what that will be to me! But in spite of all that, I beg you in the name of God, my dear father,

* *Alison's History of Europe.* 4th edition. Vol. vi. p. 292.

do not misunderstand your daughter. It is not cowardice which humbles me. I am raised above these strange misfortunes, I am standing on two strong convictions. The first is, that we are not the sport of a blind chance, we are in the hands of God: the second, that we fall with honour. The King has shown the world that he desired nothing but what is honourable, and that he does not deserve ignominy. He could not have acted otherwise than he has done, not even in one single instance, without being untrue to the principles which characterize him personally, and without being unfaithful to his people; oh, what support I find in that thought! but let us return to facts. By the loss of the unfortunate battle of Friedland Königsberg has fallen into the hands of the French. We are pressed by the enemy, and should danger come still nearer to us I must with my children leave Memel; the King will rejoin the Emperor. I shall start for Riga as soon as imminent danger compels me to move. God will give me strength to bear me up through the hour in which I must quit the kingdom. Strength will be needed, but I raise my eyes to the Almighty Source of all that is good, whose unfathomable decrees permit evil to be done. It is my firm belief that He will send us nothing beyond what we are able to bear. Once more, my very dear father, let me assure you that we fall with honour, respected and loved by other nations. I do feel that we deserve faithful friends, and that we shall have them; and I cannot tell you how much this idea consoles me. A clear conscience, and a heart willing to bend under the will of God, are blessings felt in such an hour as this. I feel them to be so, and therefore I am not completely

miserable. Believe me, nothing shall occur on our part incompatible with the strictest honour, or inconsistent with the welfare of those whom we ought to consider. Pray do not harass your mind in thinking of us; be assured, my dear good father, that I cannot be altogether unhappy.

'We are not bereft of that peace which is independent of worldly fortune, and which is not given to all on whom fortune's crowns and favours are bestowed.'

It appears that the Queen was unable to send this letter immediately, contrary winds and very stormy weather rendering it impossible for a vessel to sail from Memel. Just a week later, on the 24th of June, she wrote again explaining the delay, and concluding thus: 'I can now send the letters by a person who is to be depended on, and I therefore continue my communications from this place (Memel). The army has been obliged to retire; there is a suspension of hostilities, and an armistice for some weeks. Clouds break and disperse sometimes at the moment when they look most threatening—perhaps it is so at this moment—nobody can wish it more earnestly than I do, but desires are but desires, and have no power. All power comes from on high! Almighty Father, my faith shall not waver, although I cannot hope! To live or die in the path of duty—to live on bread and salt, if it must be so, would never bring supreme unhappiness to me. My greatest unhappiness is the being unable to hope. Those who have been torn up by the roots, and cast out of their earthly paradise, have lost the faculty of hoping. If good fortune may one day come back to us, no one will receive it more gratefully than I shall do, but I cannot hope for it.

Yet I still feel that when misfortune crushes us, it perplexes, for the instant confounds us, but it cannot deeply mortify us as long as it is not deserved Wrong and injustice on our side would have brought me down to the grave, but I shall not sink under our humiliations, there is no disgrace in them, under which we ought to bend our heads in shame.' . . . . 'The King joined the Emperor Alexander on the 19th. Yesterday they went to Taurogen, where they are at this moment; it is only a few miles from Tilsit, where the French Emperor now is.'

The Emperor of Russia had taken a house at Taurogen, and the King of Prussia a few days later took one at Piktupöhnen, both in the immediate vicinity of Tilsit: there the King was joined by his brothers and some other members of the Royal Family. The Queen remained at Memel; we hear of Her Majesty taking her children on board the Astrea frigate, one of several English vessels which were lying off that port. The wind had calmed down, the evening was unusually fine, the yards were manned and salutes fired, *et cetera*. It was quite a new sight to the Queen and all the Royal party, and it gave them as much pleasure as anything of the kind could give at a time when afflicting events were pressing on the minds of all who were old enough to understand them.*

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 162. Bentley, London, 1872.

CHAPTER X.

CROWDS of people were gathering together on the banks of the Niemen about noon on the 25th of June, 1807. They were the industrious, unpretending inhabitants of the little town of Tilsit, or the country people dwelling in its neighbourhood—people of all grades, attracted together by a common feeling in which joyful excitement blended with unrestrained curiosity. A few words full of meaning had passed from mouth to mouth—'The war is over.' How thankfully were they caught up, and passed on by those who had suffered during the cruel conflict; and who among that multitude was not lamenting the loss of friends, property, or domestic comfort? The long-desired peace had come upon the people so suddenly as to be quite amazing; and they were assembling to witness the first meeting of the rival Emperors, who were now mutually ready to put an end to their sanguinary quarrel.

The interview had been appointed only the day before by Napoleon, who wished it to be publicly looked upon as a meeting of the two most powerful monarchs of the age. Considering the constitution of Alexander's mind, as well as that of the public, the

Emperor of the West, as his officers now styled His Imperial Majesty of France, desired that a scene as effective as possible should be got up. Only a few hours could be allowed for preparing this impromptu imitation of the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold,' an historical *renaissance* likely to charm the chivalrous Emperor of Russia. That noble adversaries, who lately crossed their swords in mortal strife so manfully as to gain each other's high esteem, should settle their differences amicably, and so generously as to leave no bitterness in the retrospect, was quite in accordance with Alexander's turn of mind. The bridge at Tilsit having been burnt a few days before, Napoleon had ordered a raft to be placed in the river, at equal distance from the bank on each side, whence spectators would view the pageant. On this raft a wooden hut had been quickly run up, as a pavilion, hung with all the gay materials that could be found in Tilsit.

At one o'clock Napoleon stepped on board the decorated boat which was to take him to the raft. Exceedingly robust health had given a heaviness to the Emperor's figure which had destroyed the resemblance to the effigies on ancient medallions, observed by persons of classical taste who looked on him as the modern Cæsar. He literally lived on what killed other men, he thirsted after the excitement of war until it had become necessary to his temperament, needful to the health of his physical system, and in a manner food, indispensable to the sustenance of that fierce activity which was his dominant characteristic. War gave Napoleon sleep and appetite; the campaign in Poland, in which he lost fifty thousand men, was only salutary exercise for him. Under recent fatigues his

iron frame had been tempered and strengthened, and had gained *embonpoint*, although he retained the quickness of his fiery Corsican nature, and the inquisitive penetrating eyes.* They were eyes full of character which could belong to no ordinary man; and the firm, severe mouth indicated a hard, inflexible will. His features were well formed, his figure well proportioned, his hair very dark, and always cut short. Though there was sometimes a cold, livid, what has been described as a death-like hue on his sallow complexion, and his stature was low, yet you might always see in his countenance the strong master mind, and in his bearing the man born to rule.

The French Emperor embarked on the Niemen, accompanied by the Grand Duke of Berg, the Prince of Neufchatel, the Marshals Bessieres and Duroc, and Caulaincourt, chief Equerry. At the same instant the Emperor of Russia started from the opposite bank of the river.

Alexander presented a striking contrast to Napoleon as regarded personal appearance. The former was decidedly handsome, had altogether a fine head, and a face lighted with a noble, benevolent expression. His figure was tall and majestic, and his whole demeanour dignified and graceful. He was accompanied by his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, Generals Benningsen and Suwarrow, Prince Labanoff, and Count Lieven. The splendid suite of each monarch followed in other boats. Napoleon arrived first at the raft, and himself opened the door of the pavilion to receive the Czar; while the shouts of the soldiers and the multi-

* *Histoire de Napoléon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. 3rd edition. Paris, 1870.

tude drowned the roar of the cannon. Alexander disembarked, and the Emperors immediately embraced with the most conspicuous cordiality. This manifestation of a complete reconciliation, seen by the spectators on the banks of the Niemen, called forth loud applause. The two armies were ranged along the opposite sides of the broad river, and numbers of rude ignorant peasants pressed closely on the soldiers. The witnesses of this extraordinary scene, little versed in the mysteries of political affairs, when they saw the mighty potentates embrace affectionately, thought that peace was already concluded, and that the effusion of blood was stopped. After this display of quickly-ripened friendship, the two monarchs retired into the pavilion which had been prepared for their reception, and at once entered on the discussion of a very simple but all-important question, Why should we make war on each other?*

This leading question soon brought the Emperors to comparing their feelings towards Great Britain. Napoleon had much desired to sound the depths of Alexander's mind on that subject; to know what he really felt towards that power which ruled the waves, and still maintained a proudly independent tone in spite of the great Bonaparte. England had not bent to Russia, Russia was determined not to bend to England. Alexander had endured chilling disappointment: his sanguine, ardent temper had been tried, by the failure of hopes which he had based on his alliance with England. Therefore to Napoleon's brief, comprehensive inquiry he replied, 'I dislike the English as

* *Histoire du Consulat et l'Empire.* Par A. Thiers.

much as you do, and am ready to second you in all your enterprises against them.' 'In that case,' replied Napoleon, 'everything will be easily arranged, and peace is already made.' *

This conversation lasted more than an hour, and touched on all the questions which arose, without going deeply into them. Alexander became excited as Napoleon opened to him new views, and pointed to objects in distant perspective. This is always pleasing to an active mind, especially when it is discontented with the existing state of things. Napoleon expressed his ideas clearly and forcibly, and, above all, with the persuasiveness of a seemingly generous conqueror. The victor presented himself to the vanquished with his hands full of gifts, his mouth full of flattering and assuring words. Alexander was seduced; Napoleon perceived it, and promised himself soon to render the seduction complete.† First he flattered the monarch, and then he flattered the man. 'You and I shall understand each other better,' said he, 'if we treat directly without employing our ministers, who often deceive us, or who may misunderstand us; we shall do more in an hour than our negotiators would do in several days. You and I understand each other, and no one ought to intervene between us.'

Alexander was in the state of mind which rendered his impressible disposition susceptible to the very impressions which Napoleon desired to make. The Emperor of Russia was disgusted with the unthankful office of European mediator, in which he had greatly prided himself, while at the same time he had held it

* Alison.

† *Consulat et l'Empire.* Par A. Thiers.

conscientiously. He had grown tired of striving for the good of others to very little purpose, and gaining no reward himself, not even gratitude and praise. Above all, he was dissatisfied with his old allies. Prussia had proved utterly weak, a burden to him instead of a support. England had done nothing which he had expected her to do; and her growing naval power had naturally a tendency to excite the jealousy of other nations. Yet with Great Britain this was comparatively a moment of weakness rather than strength; she had lost Nelson, Pitt, and Fox; they had died within a few months of each other, and such men cannot be instantly replaced.

Alexander sincerely thought that all that he had done had been for the general good of Europe; he had kept that exalted aim in view; and if youthful illusions, youthful *amour propre*, had had something to do with leading him on, yet still his motives had hitherto been unsullied by any base kind of selfishness. One can quite understand that the Emperor of Russia reviewed his past conduct with satisfaction, but that he thought the time had at length arrived in which he ought to consider the interests of his crown, the welfare and security of his subjects, and to renounce utopian schemes and philanthropic dreams which had only deceived and disappointed him. His own plans for Europe were utterly frustrated; Prussia had been vanquished, England had been quieted; he had been himself signally defeated, though not completely subdued; his army, though not destroyed, was weakened by immense losses. Was not all this a sign that the unprecedented dominion which Napoleon had set up was destined to rule? and was it not better to accept

the rule, and some share of the power, rather than to lose all, in vain attempts to brave it? *

This is what historians and contemporary writers now tell us of what passed between Napoleon and Alexander during that one momentous hour when they conferred together, concealed from the eager gaze of the multitude under the little pavilion on the raft—or floating bridge, some call it. To the lookers-on it seemed a very long hour. Rain fell in heavy showers; and all that while the Grand Duke Constantine, and Generals Benningsen and Kalkreuth, were waiting on the river in open boats. At last they were called in to take part in the conference, which continued two hours longer. The King of Prussia did not assist at it, nor did he see Bonaparte at all, except indeed from the shore, where, in spite of the rain which fell in torrents, he rode up and down during the three hours that the interview lasted.†

As the raft could afford but slender accommodation, Napoleon proposed that they should each with his respective suite be established in Tilsit, that they might have the opportunity for arranging repeated interviews. This was agreed on, and M. de Labanoff was commissioned to seek suitable houses, and to make the necessary arrangements. Before they parted the Emperors spoke of the King of Prussia, and it was decided that on the following day Alexander should bring Frederick William to the pavilion to introduce him to Napoleon. Before passing from one system of politics to another, it was necessary to Alexander's honour that he should have saved something to the

* See *Histoire de Napoléon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. Third edition. Paris, 1870. † *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson.*

crown of his ally. Napoleon saw that he must make some concessions in consideration of Alexander's honour, and he therefore consented to the meeting proposed by that Emperor, which took place the next day, June the 26th. The same pomps and ceremonies were observed as on the previous occasion; the shouts of the people told how they welcomed peace, and expressed their loyalty, but the heart of their King was anything but joyful. The interview was very brief, and must have been embarrassing to all parties, and very painful to Frederick William. That monarch looked sad, but not humbled, and maintained a perfectly composed and dignified manner with stiff politeness. The few words he said were spoken to justify his conduct to Napoleon, to show that he took no blame to himself, and that he did not pretend to do so; indeed, his conduct towards the French Emperor had been blameless. Perhaps he had erred in an opposite direction, by having been too yielding, too trustful, too ready to be led by him; and had awakened from his peaceful dream too late. Yet the result of war must have made him feel satisfied that he had not been altogether wrong in so carefully avoiding it, till the whole nation called for it—the government, the army, and the people.

Napoleon replied that on his side he had nothing to reproach himself with, that the Cabinet of Berlin, after having been repeatedly warned not to be deluded by the intrigues of England, had committed the fault of not listening to this friendly counsel, and that to this cause all the misfortunes of Prussia might be attributed. He graciously intimated that victorious France might condescend to be generous, and he expressed a hope

that in the course of a few days they might arrive at an understanding as to the conditions of an honourable and solid peace. The three sovereigns separated after an interview which had scarcely lasted half an hour. It was arranged that the King of Prussia should also come and establish himself at Tilsit. Meanwhile Napoleon entertained Alexander with the utmost magnificence and cordiality; and after the grand banquet had taken place, it was settled that the Emperors should always dine and spend the evenings together. This gave abundance of time for confidential conversation and familiar intercourse; and they showed themselves every day to the people by riding out together. The Emperors reviewed the French Imperial Guard. Alexander highly complimented the gallant corps, which replied by repeated cries of 'Vive Alexandre! vive Napoléon!' *.

Napoleon had ascended to the meridian of his glory, his extraordinary position brought out the greatness of his genius, but at the same time it disclosed the weak points in his policy—a policy exaggerated and variable as the passions which inspired it.†

'Ambition,' says Schiller, 'is a word of wide meaning, in which a great many emotions and ideas can be buried.' Alexander must have buried a great deal, although he still professed undiminished friendship for Frederick William, who took a house at Tilsit, and arrived on the appointed day. Napoleon bestowed ceremonious attentions on him, but made it evident that he desired no familiar intimacy. The three sovereigns always dined together, but only the favoured

* *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par A. Thiers.

† Thiers. Ibid.

one was invited to remain through the evenings; the two Emperors shut themselves up to carry on their private discussions. Alexander assured Frederick William that he valued this exclusive privilege chiefly because it gave him opportunities for guarding the interests of Prussia. That kingdom, however, appeared to have been very little considered when the conditions of peace on which Napoleon insisted were set forth in detail. The anxious face of its unfortunate king must have reminded Alexander of promises which it was very difficult to keep, and must sometimes have brought home to Napoleon's conscience a sense of the injustice he was doing.

It is scarcely possible to know exactly what passed in the long conversations which Napoleon and Alexander held together at Tilsit. A great many stories which contradicted each other were circulated all over Europe; and not only were dialogues drawn up, but also treaties were published under the name of 'The Secret Articles of Tilsit,' which Monsieur Thiers pronounces to be 'absolutely false.' *

Surely it is evident that no single sentence, or even hasty expression, uttered during these strictly private interviews can have transpired, except as it was repeated by one or other of those deeply interested individuals, the Emperors of France and Russia. Therefore, with respect to those statements and stories, our faith in them can have no other anchorage to take hold on but the personal characters of those two distinguished men, who sat together talking in the most un-

* *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par A. Thiers. Tome septième, p. 500, note. Leipsic, 1847. Monsieur Thiers indicates the sources of information which he considers most genuine and undefiled.

constrained and familiar way over their resentful or ambitious schemes. Is their veracity altogether unimpeachable, decidedly superior to the force of strong temptation?

When the Emperors rode out together they had frequent opportunities of observing the different corps of their respective armies. Napoleon acknowledged that he had never before seen anything which had struck him so much as the appearance of one of the regiments of the Russian Guards. Although he did not generally admire the rigid formality of German tactics, yet the perfect discipline, the docility with which orders were obeyed, astonished him. 'My soldiers,' said he, 'are as brave as it is possible to be, but they are too much addicted to reasoning on their position. If they had the firmness and docility of the Russians, the world would be too small for their exploits.' *

'The Russians at Tilsit did not consider themselves as vanquished; on the contrary, they felt, after all their misfortunes, much of the exultation of victory. Proud of having so long arrested the progress of the conqueror of the world, glorying even in the amount of their losses, and the chasms in the ranks, which told how desperate had been the strife in which they had been engaged, their feelings were unlacerated by the humiliation of defeat. It was soon whispered that peace was to be concluded on terms quite advantageous to the Russian Empire. Consequently the utmost cordiality prevailed between the officers and soldiers of the two armies; they met at all kinds of entertainments, and mutually complimented each other. On

* Alison's *History of Europe.*

one of these occasions, to such a length did mutual respect and regard proceed, that the officers of the two guards, amidst the fumes of wine and the enthusiasm of the moment, actually exchanged their uniforms; French hearts beat under the decorations won amidst the snows of Eylau, and Russian bosoms warmed beneath the orders bestowed on the field of Austerlitz.' *

Weighed down by depressing circumstances, and not inspired by that military genius which sympathetically united the Emperors, the King of Prussia did not shine at Tilsit. The shyness of his boyhood, engendered by his father's mismanagement, seems to have come back upon him in this time of trouble; or perhaps he shrank from playing the part assigned to him by others, in a drama which did not harmonize with his feelings. Certainly he did not maintain the position to which he was entitled; he often felt *un de trop*, and purposely fell behind his brother monarchs when he was riding with them. This was remarked on; it mortified the Prussians, and incensed them against the Emperors; moreover, it uselessly annoyed Napoleon, who thus commented on it: 'Alexander was sometimes tired of his companion, whose chagrin was so evident that it damped our satisfaction. Consequently we sometimes broke up our dinner parties at an early hour, but Alexander and I remained behind to take tea together, and generally prolonged the conversation till past midnight.'†

Napoleon himself at the beginning of his career had been grave, reserved, and sententious; and on these

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. p. 299.

† Alison, quoting Las Casas, iv. 228—230.

characteristics his manners had formed: but since he had risen to a commanding position he had given way to his strong temper, and he often expressed cutting and absolute opinions with extreme freedom and volubility. He had acquired a kind of eloquence peculiar to himself, full of imagination, colour, and fire; but also unequal and incoherent. His natural abruptness constantly appeared in his conversation; it was betrayed every instant by an exaggerated gesticulation and by the hasty expressions which escaped him, which seemed unpremeditated as they were unexpected. What he was most wanting in, was in that calm dignity, repose, and self-possession which speaks freely and straightforwardly, and which above all things knows what is due to others.* Talleyrand said of his Royal master, '*Quel dommage qu'un si grand homme ait été si mal élevé.*' Yet nobody knew better than he did how to be by turns caressing, insinuating, and imperious. He could be immeasurably haughty, but when he wished to appear good-humoured, gentle, and amiable, under the feline grace of his manners was hidden the sharpness and the suspicion of the Corsican.†

Alexander's courtesy and grace formed part of his character. He was ambitious — he was not proof against flattery, but he was no hypocrite. His friendship for Frederick William was sincere, and he was much disappointed at finding he could do so little towards persuading Napoleon to be less hard on the King of Prussia.

Alexander felt for his friend, and it occurred to him that the presence of the Queen might comfort and sup-

* *Histoire de Napoleon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. Third edition, Paris, 1870.
† Ibid.

port her husband, and that her cleverness and tact might be useful—that through her an appeal might be successfully made to Napoleon's noblest feelings. That such an idea should have arisen in Alexander's poetical mind is not surprising—the wonder is that Frederick William approved of the design and quickly acted upon it.*

There was no time to be lost, it was already late for making such an attempt; Napoleon's plans were projected. But at no period whatever would it have been probable that he could be induced to sacrifice a portion of his designs under the influence of a woman, however interesting she might be.

The King's mind was at this moment greatly disturbed by the vexation of finding that Napoleon was intending to retain most of the fortified towns of Prussia. Very strongly had he remonstrated, and very unwillingly had he yielded one after another, and now he was clinging tenaciously to a forlorn hope of saving Magdeburg. His frontier was to be drawn in to the Elbe; Magdeburg is as important a key to the Elbe as Mayence and Strasburg are to the Rhine. The town ran along both sides of the river, and its fortifications were very strong. Frederick William had urgently requested that this town on the river, which was henceforward to bound his kingdom on the west, might be spared to him. Alexander had pleaded for it earnestly, but the Emperor was inflexible. Then at last, Alexander suggested the idea of sending for the

* 'On eut recours à l'intervention de la Reine de Prusse, comme dernier moyen, non de toucher grossièrement Napoleon, mais d'émouvoir ses sentiments les plus délicats, par la présence d'une reine, belle, spirituelle, et malheureuse.—'A. Thiers.

Queen, that she might try to soften and bend Napoleon's iron will. Queen Louisa had very often been at Magdeburg, she was well known and much beloved there. The inhabitants were Prussians, who infinitely preferred being under Prussian rule; most of them belonged to very ancient families, who were affectionately attached to the monarchy.*

When Queen Louisa received the King's letter requesting her to join him at Tilsit, and expressing a hope that her intercession with Napoleon might be of some avail, she burst into tears, exclaiming that it was the hardest thing she had been called on to bear or to do.† Recovering her composure she decided on joining her husband, on acting in accordance with his wishes, and that if he desired her to plead her country's cause before the conqueror, she would do so with all her heart and all her powers of persuasion. 'Perhaps,' said she, 'I could be of some use.' General Kalkreuth, who had been sent over from Tilsit, encouraged the Queen in this idea, and his representations, and a message he bore from the Emperor Alexander, confirmed her resolution.‡ The mother who had urged her sons to be ready to die for Prussia was soon prepared for any amount of self-sacrifice. But at this moment Louisa felt the loss of that buoyant, sanguine

* *Consulat et l'Empire.* Par A. Thiers.

† Hufeland, the Queen's physician, thus describes this scene: 'I never can forget the moment when our noble Queen received the King's letter from Tilsit, directing her to come to Tilsit for the arrangement of the peace with Napoleon. She burst into tears, saying, that it was the hardest thing she had had to do, the greatest sacrifice she could make.' See *Louise eine Deutsche Königin.* Von Ludwig Brunier. Bremen, 1871.

‡ *Die Churfürstinnen und Königinnen auf dem Throne der Hohenzollern.*—Von Ernst Dan. Mart. Kirchner. Berlin, 1870.

spirit which had been part of herself. When thinking how she might gain her point, she said, in accents of despair—'But with my broken wing how can I do anything, how can I succeed?' Yet feeling that she must do her utmost, she summoned courage, collected her thoughts, and listened attentively to the instructions given by Kalkreuth and Hardenberg as to what she must endeavour to save,—to withdraw from Napoleon's grasp,—Magdeburg, Silesia, Westphalia, but especially Magdeburg, which was most essential to the security of the kingdom.*

At Tilsit it had been thought that the Queen of Prussia might possibly arrive. Talleyrand, who feared her power, had tried by every possible means to set Napoleon against her coming.† The Emperor however felt very curious to see the Queen; he had quite settled his political plans in his own mind to his satisfaction, and he trusted in his own firmness to resist the most eloquent advocate who might try to induce him to alter them. Therefore, when he heard that the Queen was expected to join the King at Piktupöhnen, Napoleon determined on showing her every ceremonious attention due to her rank. No sooner had she arrived than he sent two of his generals to wait on Her Majesty, to express his regret that he could not visit her at Piktupöhnen, that place not being on neutral territory; and to beg that she would come to Tilsit. The Queen did not decline this proposal, and the Emperor sent his own state carriage drawn by eight horses to convey Her Majesty, and a splendid escort of French dragoons. It was on the morning of

* *Lebensbild der Gräfin Sophie Schwerin.*

† Brunier and Vehse.

the 6th of July that the Queen went to Tilsit; the Countesses Von Voss and Tauentzien were in attendance. An hour after her arrival at the King of Prussia's apartments, Napoleon called on her; first sending a messenger to announce his approach. We know what were the feelings with which she awaited the meeting, for in anticipation of the dreaded moment she had written in her journal: 'What this costs me my God alone knows, for, if I do not positively hate this man, I cannot help looking upon him as the man who has made the King and the whole nation miserable. It will be very difficult for me to be courteous to him, but that is required of me.'

The King met the Emperor before he entered the house, and greeted him with due ceremony; His Majesty remained down-stairs to receive the Marshals and the suite. The Emperor, attended by Talleyrand, went up directly to the Queen's apartment, as his visit was to her. They met at the head of the stairs, according to etiquette when a person of superior rank was to be received. The Queen seems to have been a little embarrassed, for her first words were merely a remark on the stairs—she regretted that His Majesty had had to mount so inconvenient a stair-case. Napoleon gallantly replied: 'One cannot be afraid of difficulties with such an object in view, and while reaching up to attain the reward at the end.' 'For those who are favoured by Heaven there are no difficulties on earth,' replied the Queen.

Napoleon had penetration enough to see at once that the descriptions of Queen Louisa, which had been given to him by his agents and her enemies, were untruthful, and very falsely coloured. 'I knew,' he said to Talley-

rand, 'that I should see a beautiful woman, and a Queen with dignified manners, but I found the most admirable Queen, and at the same time the most interesting woman I had ever met with.' Her Majesty wore a perfectly white dress of crape, richly embroidered in silk, which attracted Napoleon's eye. 'Is it crape, Indian gauze?' said he, gently touching the elegant material. 'Shall we speak of such light things at such a moment as this?' said Louisa.* He made no reply, and the Queen not wishing to take the initiative in an important conversation, broke the silence by making a simple remark on the climate of North Germany, hoping it had agreed with His Majesty's health. 'The French soldier is hardened to bear every kind of climate,' said Napoleon; and with characteristic abruptness he added, 'How could you think of making war upon me?' The Queen very quietly answered, 'We were mistaken in our calculations on our resources.' 'And you trusted in Frederick's fame and deceived yourselves—Prussia, of course, I mean.' The Queen calmly raised her clear blue eyes to meet Napoleon's searching glance as she replied, 'Sire, on the strength of the great Frederick's fame we may be excused for having been mistaken with respect to our own powers, and the means at our command: if indeed we have entirely deceived ourselves.' †

* *Lebensbild der Gräfin Sophie Schwerin*, p. 154.

† 'Sire, il était permis à la gloire du grand Frédéric de nous tromper sur nos moyens, si toutefois nous nous sommes trompés.'

The French word *moyens* is a comprehensive word which cannot be exactly and fully translated by any single word in the English language. Nor have we a word which exactly fits *toutefois*, it has a deep and a very significant meaning if we go down to the roots of the word.

This answer was afterwards repeated to many persons by Talleyrand, the French minister, who was present at the interview between the Em-

Napoleon was touched by this answer; he felt the truth, and dropped the subject. He was passing on to trivial conversation, but the Queen, mindful of the task she had undertaken, and thinking this might be her only opportunity of speaking, mentioned the object of her journey to Tilsit. She candidly told the Emperor that she hoped to prevail on him to grant moderate terms for a treaty of peace with Prussia. Thus pressed, Napoleon gave evasive answers. She spoke of his generosity, hoping to call it into existence, and he parried her arguments with empty compliments, which gave her at the moment a little hope that she was making some impression, and thus urged her on to plead more fervently. Napoleon admired this earnest devotion to the cause she had at heart, the utter forgetfulness of self, the heedlessness of any consequences that might rebound on herself. The strength of character and the quick-witted intelligence of the Queen was soon felt in this conversation to a degree which embarrassed Napoleon, but he was on his guard, and although some expressions of kindness and respect passed his lips, he took care not to utter a single word which could bind him to anything.* Louisa spoke of the power of moderation; she besought him to be just and merciful, for the love of humanity; she called his attention to the eternal laws by which God governs the world.† When she spoke of the Prussian people and of her husband she could not restrain her tears. At last she begged for Magdeburg, that Magdeburg

peror and the Queen. See the *Memoir of Queen Louisa*, by Wilhelm Hennings. Gotha, 1826.

* *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par A. Thiers. Tome vii. p. 529.

† *Louise, eine Deutsche Königin.* Von Ludwig Brunier. Bremen, 1871.

at least might be spared to them. Talleyrand thought Napoleon wavered. At that moment the King came in, and the conversation was interrupted. After talking for a few minutes on general topics, Napoleon invited the King and Queen to dine with him, and then took leave, followed by Talleyrand. It is said that that minister, anxious to efface any impressions which Queen Louisa's petition might have made on the Emperor's mind, asked him what he thought the world would say if he were to sacrifice the fruits of his victories to a beautiful woman.* They talked of Magdeburg and its value to France, and agreed that that town could not be given up. 'No, no,' said Napoleon jestingly, 'Magdeburg is worth a hundred queens.' He has given his own account of his interview with the Queen of Prussia, and thus describes its termination. 'Happily the husband came in, the Queen's countenance showed her annoyance at this *contre-temps*, and, in fact, the King, trying to put his word into the conversation, spoilt the whole affair, and I was delivered.'†

This interview on which so much had seemed to depend, had lasted only a quarter of an hour. As Louisa recalled to mind what had passed, hope revived and she dwelt on every word that could at all sustain it. The Emperor had said, 'You ask a great deal, but I will think about it.' ‡ She repeated these words in

* *Die Churfürstinnen und Königinnen auf dem Throne der Hohenzollern.* Von Ernst Dan. Mart. Kirchner. Berlin, 1870.

† 'Heureusement le mari arriva. La Reine d'un regard expressif réprouva ce contre-temps. En effet le Roi essay a de mettre son mot dans la conversation et gâta toute l'affaire, et je fut délivré dit l'Empereur.' Quoted by Gräfin Sophie Schwerin from Las Casas.

‡ 'Vous demandez beaucoup, mais j'y songerai.'—*Lebensbild der Gräfin Sophie Schwerin.*

a joyful tone, they might mean a great deal—besides, she should see him again at dinner, something might then be done.

Lovingly and carefully the Queen's ladies dressed her that day, wishing that all the world knew her as they did. Many months had elapsed since Louisa had appeared in the full splendour of regal attire. When the *toilette* was completed, as the Queen saw herself reflected in the glass, her vivid imagination conjured up the old Germans of pagan times, who dressed up their victims before they threw them into the flames, to appease the anger of their gods. With a sad smile she expressed the fancy to Frau Von Berg—'and will indeed the angry god whom now the world adores, be appeased and reconciled through me?' she said.

The Emperor received the Queen with the utmost politeness—he went out and opened the carriage door himself—he led Her Majesty to the table, and placed her on his right hand; the King of Prussia sat on his left, they were the distinguished guests that day. The Emperor talked freely at the table, his loquacious, lively manner contrasted remarkably with the King's grave reserve. Napoleon had been accustomed to find the German princes very submissive in their demeanour towards him, but Frederick William maintained his dignity. The Queen was excited, but never lost her presence of mind; she had only one object in view, the hope that the treaty of peace might not be altogether disadvantageous to Prussia.*

The Emperor, in a gracious mood, condescended to jest even on grave subjects. He asked the Queen how

* See *Louise eine Deutsche Königin*. Von Ludwig Brunier. Bremen, 1871.

she could have been so imprudent as to go up to the seat of war—was she aware that she had very narrowly escaped being taken by his Hussars? Louisa replied, 'I can hardly believe that, Sire, for I never saw a Frenchman while I was on that journey.' 'But why did you expose yourself thus to danger? why did you not wait for my arrival at Weimar?' 'Really, Sire, I felt no inclination to do so,' was the answer. The Queen wore an elegant white turban of some light material. '*Comment donc*,' said the Emperor, 'the Queen of Prussia wears a turban, that is not to compliment the Emperor of Russia, who is at war with the Turks.' 'I think it is rather to compliment Rustan,' replied the Queen. Rustan was a Turk, one of Napoleon's favourite servants who usually waited on His Majesty.*

Conversing more seriously, the Emperor spoke of the province of Silesia, telling the Queen that he was willing to surrender it to Prussia on the new arrangements about to be made.† Something was also said about the old Prussian provinces which were to be ceded to France. The Hohenzollern would not for a moment pretend to be contented—well satisfied—with a spoliation which he felt to be unjust. He quietly expressed his difference of opinion, adding: 'Your Majesty does not know how grievous it is to lose territories which have descended through a long line of ancestors, which are, in fact, the cradle of one's race.' Whether this speech was intended to be *piquant*, or whether it was an accidental slip of the tongue, we

* Translated from *Lebensbild der Gräfin Sophie Schwerin, geb. Gräfin Dönhoff.* Berlin, 1863.

† Related by a French author in his *Memoirs of Napoleon.* See *Memoirs of Louisa, Queen of Prussia.* By Mrs Charles Richardson. Second edition, p. 210. Richard Bentley, London.

cannot say; certainly it was not likely to conciliate a monarch who had ennobled his family, instead of being ennobled by it in the time-honoured way. Napoleon laughed, and seemed highly amused by the simile. 'The cradle!' said he; 'when the child has grown up to be a man, he has not much time to think about his cradle.' 'The mother's heart is the most lasting cradle,' observed Queen Louisa. The turn thus gently given to the conversation may not have been unpleasing, for the Emperor's consideration for his mother was generally admired. Respectful inquiries were now made for Madame Bonaparte and the Empress Josephine, and all went on smoothly, as the grand dinner proceeded through its successive courses.* The Emperor was in a cheerful, talkative humour, and whenever that was the case he very much engrossed the conversation. He had become accustomed when in society to act a part; he had acquired a command of words which made his language striking and powerful, but they were in a manner armed words, which set the interlocutor at defiance, and overcame without convincing him. The result of this was that a conversation with Napoleon was often nothing more than a long monologue. He could not bear to be contradicted, and

* Napoleon, writing to Josephine, said, 'The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman; she is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous. I am like sere cloth, along which everything of this sort slides without penetrating. It would cost me too much to play the gallant on this occasion.'

'The motives of the Queen in what Napoleon was pleased to call coquetry with him, cannot be mistaken. Her desire to alleviate the burdens of her people required the greatest tact, and the motive of her visit guards her from the imputation of coquetting with him.' Mrs Richardson. See her *Memoir of Louisa, Queen of Prussia.* Second edition, pp. 210, 211. Bentley, London, 1848.

was therefore incapable of carrying on an argument on any subject, consequently he seldom gained a real victory with his tongue, he could only astonish and silence those who ventured to contend with him.*

The Queen of Prussia was not silenced. Napoleon acknowledged that in spite of his address and utmost efforts, 'she constantly led the conversation, returned at pleasure to her subject, and directed it as she chose; but still with so much tact and delicacy that it was impossible to take offence.' 'And in truth,' said he, 'it must be confessed that the objects at stake were of infinite importance, and the time short and precious.' †

The flush of excitement on Louisa's fine countenance made people forget that she had passed the fresh bloom of life's prime; at the same time, her vivacity and intelligence made them feel that external beauty was her least attraction. Did Napoleon at that moment remember some passages in those private letters which he took the liberty of reading when he ransacked her cabinet at Charlottenburg? Now that he had become personally acquainted with the Queen of Prussia, and could not help admiring her, in spite of preconceived prejudices, the victor, who was accustomed to overcome all kinds of opposition, may have attempted to conquer the aversion of which he knew he was the object. We may be sure that nothing traced by Queen Louisa's hand was either grossly or very bitterly expressed, therefore it could be forgiven; and Napoleon had found in her a woman and a Queen totally unlike the ideal he had formed in his mind.

* See *Histoire de Napoleon* 1er.—Par P. Lanfrey. Third edition. Paris, 1870.

† Alison, quoting Las Casas. See Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. p. 298, note.

Wishing to please his fair guest by every trivial attention he could lavish upon her, the Emperor offered the Queen a rose. Louisa hesitated for an instant; then, true to her aim, she smiled, and softly said,—'At least with Magdeburg.' 'I must point out to your Majesty,' replied Napoleon, 'that it is for me to beg; for you to accept or decline.' 'There is no rose without a thorn, but these thorns are too sharp for me,' said the Queen, as she declined to take the flower.*

When the sumptuous banquet was over, the large assembly of persons liberally entertained by the Emperor of France enjoyed music, or amused themselves with dancing and other diversions. Every eye sought the Queen of Prussia; many looked on her, disposed to envy her high position and her evident advantages. No one knew how her heart was growing heavier with its weight of disappointment, as the gay hours passed on, and one by one every chance and every hope of accomplishing her object failed her, and she saw that no further opportunity for pleading Prussia's cause was likely to be accorded to her.

The King and Queen returned to Piktupöhnen, and the next morning the King had a long conversation with Napoleon. On what it principally turned did not

* *Die Churfürstinnen und Königinnen auf dem Throne der Hohenzollern*, p. 342. Bearbeitet Von Ernst Dan. Mart. Kirchner. Berlin, 1870.

This author, Kirchner, quotes Napoleon's words as 'It is for me to give, for you to take.' Another author who relates the same story less clearly and concisely, quotes Napoleon's words with a slight difference, which, however, puts fuller meaning into them as a reply to Queen Louisa's petition: 'It is for me to beg, for you to accept or decline.'

A thoroughly incorrect version of the story of the rose was circulated, which probably emanated from the salons of Josephine. See Mrs Richardson's *Memoir of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*. Second edition, p. 211. Bentley, London, 1848.

transpire; words, however, ran high; at times their voices were loud and violent, and the greatest coolness between them was afterwards apparent. If the story be true, it must have been somewhere about this time that Frederick William made a last representation of the necessity of his retaining the *vieille manche* and Magdeburg, as the key to the Elbe, which was to bound his dominions: a last appeal before the treaty was irrevocably settled. Napoleon replied, 'You forget that you are not in a position to negotiate. Understand that I wish to keep Prussia down, and to hold Magdeburg, that I may enter Berlin when I choose to do so. I believe in the stability of only two sentiments—vengeance and hatred. For the future the Prussians must hate the French, but I will put it out of their power to injure them.'* If such were really Napoleon's words, they must have passed his lips during a storm of passion, such as we are told he occasionally vented on any one who dared to thwart his will or to question his right to rule.

The Emperor did not visit the Queen again that day, but according to a previous invitation the King and Queen went into town to dine again with His Imperial Majesty. The Queen, disheartened and fatigued, desired to be excused from appearing, but yielded to the wishes of others. The Emperor Alexander strongly advised her not to decline Napoleon's invitation to this more private and select party. The conditions of the treaty of peace were by this time definitely settled; the King and Queen of Prussia knew their own and

* This speech is given, with slight verbal variations, by several authors, among them is Sir George Jackson. See his *Diaries and Letters*, vol. ii. p. 166.

their country's fate, further discussion therefore was useless. Napoleon, no longer feeling that he must stand on the defensive, prepared to resist entreaties, was less arbitrary in his manner at this farewell meeting than it was usual for him to be. Monsieur Thiers thinks that, embarrassed by the struggle with the Queen of Prussia, and to escape from her importunities, as he found it difficult to maintain the upper hand, he made some slight concessions, hastened the conclusion of the treaty, and also his preparations for returning to France. In his resolute way he had determined that everything should be finished and ready for him to leave in twenty-four hours.*

As the Emperor conducted the Queen to his carriage, which was waiting for her, he gallantly expressed his unalterable admiration according to the French courtly manners of the day, adding that he very much regretted the being unable to accede to her wishes. Following his tactics, the Queen lamented that after having had the honour of knowing the hero of the age, whom she could never forget, the impression left on her mind must always be painful; whereas, could admiration of his generosity be added to her other recollections, she would have been bound to him by a lasting tie of gratitude. 'Indeed, Your Majesty,' replied the Emperor, 'I lament that so it must be; it is my evil destiny,'—and they parted, never again to meet in this world. 'I have been cruelly deceived,'† were Louisa's last words as she drove from the house.

Monsieur Thiers regrets that Napoleon was so intent

* See *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Tome vii. p. 530.

† 'J'ai été cruellement trompé.'—*Lebensbild der Gräfin Sophie Schwerin geb. Sophie Dönhoff.*

on aggrandizing ungrateful kingdoms, and on creating ephemeral ones, that he overlooked the importance of thoroughly conciliating Prussia. 'Perhaps,' he says, 'had Napoleon allowed himself to yield on this occasion, had he conceded, not only what was asked for, but all that he might have granted without detriment to his other projects; perhaps he might have bound to himself the warm heart of this princess, and the good heart of her honourable husband.' Had Prussia been united to France in a firm and durable alliance, the star of Napoleon's destiny might not have set as it did.

By the Treaty of Tilsit the King of Prussia was condemned to give up half his dominions, to reduce his military establishment to 42,000 men, and to pay a war indemnification of 140,000,000 francs to the French. He also agreed to acknowledge the 'Confederation of the Rhine,' and all the new kingdoms which Napoleon had set up. Out of the acquisitions between the Rhine and the Elbe the Emperor formed the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome; he had already conferred the crowns of Naples and Holland on his brothers Joseph and Louis. Thus Europe submitted to Napoleonic despotism,—thus one extraordinary man elevated himself and those connected with him by trampling down whole nations and ancient dynasties.

Ambition, egotism, and self-glorification were not merely the strongest features of the great Napoleon's character, they were in his case insatiable passions. Passion always blinds its subjects, therefore he could not see, he did not suspect that this state of things could not be lasting. All other men who were at all his equals in intellectual capacity saw it; and thoughtful women saw it as clearly as did the most discerning

men. The letters of Madame de Stael, and also those of Queen Louisa, from which we shall presently extract passages, show that they did so. And Letitia Bonaparte saw it—a woman who should be highly honoured through successive generations: inasmuch as she was a pure-minded woman, chosen by God to bring forth one of the leading families of the earth. Madame Bonaparte, or, Madame Mère, as she was called, was beloved by those who knew her intimately, and generally respected. Only, people thought she was more penurious than was consistent with her exalted position. The good lady used to excuse herself by saying, 'Who knows but what the day may come in which I shall have to find bread for all these kings?'*

Napoleon was now at the culminating point of his glory. On the 24th of July he made his triumphal entry into Frankfort, and on the morning of the 27th he arrived at Saint Cloud: but he neither enjoyed nor desired to enjoy rest; he was soon again engrossed, and fully engaged in prosecuting war; marching his armies into Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Austria.

The Emperor of the French gave his own descriptions of what had taken place at Tilsit. Such of them as have been preserved are characterized by that remarkable admixture of truth and falsehood which we have already seen so conspicuously manifested in his official bulletins.

* Count Beugnot, who knew the Emperor's mother when she was about 50 or 55 years old, describes her as being beautiful as a woman of that age can be. She reminded him of St Anne in Raffaelle's picture of the Holy Family, and he found in her those amiable characteristics which at that age command reverence as well as admiration. He adds: 'She had retained the marked accent of her country, and some vulgar phrases that she took no pains to alter, although she would have done well to have suppressed them.'

Every one who has studied Queen Louisa's character must feel that in Napoleon's account of his interview with the Queen of Prussia falsehood predominates over truth. And yet Napoleon has borne strong and ample testimony to the high tone of mind, to the pure intentions, to the many excellent qualities which he discovered in that 'admirable Queen.' He could not resist the temptation which strengthened as he habitually yielded to it: that of making his reports useful to him,—of making them serve as a kind of scaffolding by the aid of which he built up the political fabrics he had previously designed. Napoleon well knew that this world of ours is a very treacherous one; therefore, he thought, 'where is the sin of deceiving the world, when it suits our purpose to do so?' He was to be snatched out of this temptation which was too strong for him; separated from the world by the waves of the vast Atlantic. Then, when a quiet life was forced upon him, he turned over the tablets of his memory, and noted his recollections in a more truthful spirit. Then, as he sat in his small study at Longwood, whence he could see little beyond the formal grass-plat and the then young arborvitæ, his thoughts often rambled away, and his mind's eye rested on other scenes. In those days Napoleon sometimes spoke of the past to Emanuel Las Casas, his secretary, and others who attended him in his daily rides up and down the hills of that curious island which bears a strange likeness to his destiny. Thrown up by a tremendous convulsion of nature, by volcanic upheavings which produced steep heights, abrupt descents, scarcely a step of level ground from the summit of its highest peak to the shore on which the mighty waters break.

Napoleon's chamberlain, the elder Las Casas, wrote *A Memorial of St Helena*. From this standard work we have already quoted Napoleon's description of the Queen of Prussia, as he saw her at Tilsit. It is so fully and carefully expressed, that it seems to be the opinion of her which Napoleon wished to transmit to posterity.* Perhaps his conscience smote him for having formerly misrepresented and exaggerated, and aspersed her reputation by cruel insinuations; he must have desired to efface the false impressions. But a few words which he once spoke to Talleyrand redound more to Queen Louisa's credit than anything else he ever said of her, although he did not intend them as a eulogy. He remarked to his minister that the Queen of Prussia attached too much importance to the dignity of her sex and to the value of public opinion.

When describing to her sister, Frederica, who was then at the Baths of Teplitz, in Bohemia, what had passed at Tilsit, Queen Louisa wrote—'I did it for Prussia's future, but how little have I gained. As the wife of the King I felt obliged to do it; for the sake of my husband, my children, and the people. The thought that I have done my duty is my only reward.'† This consoling reflection did not prevent the Queen from feeling much depressed by the failure of her endeavours to aid her country in this emergency; but she could not be resentful under disappointment. When one of her ladies spoke abusively of Napoleon, the Queen checked her by remarking—'We cannot lighten our sorrow by hating the Emperor, and malicious thoughts can only make us more unhappy.'‡

The Queen did not sit down to brood over melan-

* Pp. 253-4, 260. † Adami. ‡ Adami.

choly thoughts. Immediately on her return from Tilsit she occupied herself with arranging a simple farewell entertainment, a cold collation, for some of the Russian soldiers. Two fine regiments of infantry, with a detachment of Cossacks, which had been for some time stationed at Memel, were marched out to regain their own frontiers, distant about four German miles. Half way on the road stood a very pretty cottage, with grounds rather in the English style. The Queen made use of the house and garden on this occasion. Long tables were set out and covered with refreshments, some suitably for the officers, and others for the men. A few guests were invited to assist at this entertainment, among them Mr George Jackson, who gives a diverting description of the droll way in which the men charged as it were in a body, and pounced upon the tempting food; in two seconds cold meat, jellies, creams, and cakes were demolished. 'The officers then came forward, each with his bumper of wine in his hand, and drank to the health of their royal entertainers. The men, to whom also liberal potations were served, instantly repeating it in their own sonorous language, and as it seemed with one mighty deep-toned voice. The Queen was pleased with this fête, and the weather was fine, an exception to the general rule at Memel, where the climate is beyond all idea horrible. Till within these few days we could not dispense with fires, and the houses are constantly shaken to their very foundations by the violence of the gales on this exposed coast. At this moment we are leading a rather monotonous, but at the same time an anxious life. It is impossible not to sympathize greatly with the King, and it is but justice to speak of the

dignity of his conduct under the late melancholy events, which have deprived him of half of his kingdom, while what remains is depopulated and drained of its resources to the very last drop. We see their Majesties continually. The Queen is as amiable and beautiful as ever, and we have the honour of walking, or riding, or drinking tea with her almost every evening.' This was written on the 21st of July, the day after the Russian soldiers' feast, and a fortnight after the Queen's return from Tilsit. On the 6th of August he writes :—

'At the morning assemblies of the Countess Von Voss we meet their Majesties, who, past and present events considered, are in better spirits, more affable, cheerful, and pleasant, than could well be expected under such heavy misfortunes. The Queen suffers less in her health than was apprehended from this unfavourable climate. Within the last few days a sudden and extreme change has taken place in the weather, which is enough to try any constitution. The usually chill and stiff breezes of Memel have become heated blasts, and are so overpowering in their effects that I have myself been scarcely able to support them, and have felt the greatest difficulty in bearing up long enough to commit to paper my passing thoughts on passing events.'*

Do not these extracts from a contemporary memoir tend to show that the Queen's constitution was subjected to severe trials, which, alas, it did not resist as firmly as it seemed to do, because her spirit was stronger than her physical frame? Do they not also show that she did not allow herself to sink into a

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.*, vol. ii. p. 177—185. Bentley, London, 1872.

miserable state of mind, that she did not fade away and die of what is sentimentally termed a broken heart? Yet doubtless there were broken hearts in those overwhelmingly sorrowful times, when many women were bereaved of those they loved and depended upon.

CHAPTER XI.

IN those gay days when the flags were floating over the pavilion on the raft at Tilsit, when the people were rejoicing in the promised peace, although they knew not as yet on what terms it would be granted, Talleyrand wrote to Savary, the French governor of Königsberg: 'Be in no hurry with the pontoons you were desired to get ready; what should we now gain by crossing the Niemen? what is to be acquired beyond that river? The Emperor must abandon his ideas in regard to Poland; that nation is fit for nothing; disorder alone is to be organized out of its inhabitants. We have another far more important matter to settle; here is a fair opportunity of terminating the present dispute; we must not let it escape.' * In fact, the wrongs of Poland were no longer a serviceable topic to Napoleon, he had completely used it up, therefore he now disregarded the rights of that nation as much as other potentates had done before him. It suited him to make an alliance with Russia, and this he could not do without abandoning the cause of Poland. His righteous indignation

* Alison, quoting Savary. See *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. p. 294, note.

evaporated, the strong sense of justice so completely departed from his mind that he would have treated Prussia exactly as Poland had been treated—would have destroyed it as a kingdom, blotted it from the map of Europe, had not Alexander firmly refused his consent to that ultimatum. Napoleon had suggested that thenceforward Frederick William might be simply the Marquis of Brandenburg; but Alexander would not hear of it, and the Emperor of the French then perceived that with the Czar this was a point of honour, and one which must be conceded to him.*

The King of Prussia and his people as quickly as possible began to perform their parts of the hard conditions imposed on them by the Treaty of Tilsit. Nevertheless, the evacuation of the country as far as the Vistula, which should have been the first result of the treaty, was delayed.

Soon after her return to Memel, the Queen wrote thus to her father :—

'Peace is concluded, but at a grievous price. Our frontier will for the future extend only as far as the Elbe. Nevertheless, the King is greater than his antagonist. After Eylau he might have made an advantageous treaty of peace, but by doing so he would have participated in dealings on wrong principles

* Kirchner states, that when the two Emperors were discussing the affairs of Europe at Tilsit, Napoleon said that there could be no longer a King of Prussia, but only a Marquis of Brandenburg. When Alexander saw how badly disposed Napoleon was towards Frederick William he advised that the Queen should be sent for; and lest she should decline coming he also himself sent General Kalkreuth to persuade her that she might be useful. Alexander hoped that the Queen's prayers and tears would move Napoleon, and gain more than he had been able to gain for Prussia. See *Die Churfürstinnen und Königinnen auf dem Throne der Hohenzollern.* Von Ernst Dan. Mart. Kirchner, p. 340. Berlin, 1870.

voluntarily, and must have bound himself to it. Now he has acted as he was forced to do by necessity, and will not be thus bound. This will some day bring a blessing on Prussia. Also, after Eylau, he might have abandoned a faithful ally, and this he would not do. Once more I repeat it is my firm belief that the King's way of acting will bring good fortune to Prussia.'*

Again the Queen wrote: 'We have moral freedom, and this will bring political freedom. I am convinced, my dear father, that the way in which this peace has been concluded will at a future period, sooner or later, bring down a blessing on Prussia, although I may not live to see it.'†

Hardenberg had been the leading minister since hostilities with France had been resolved on; he possessed the confidence of his sovereign, and was very highly esteemed throughout the country. Napoleon insisted on his being dismissed; therefore, at a crisis at which his valuable services were especially required, Hardenberg was not only compelled to leave the government, but also to retire from the country, and it was not until after the withdrawal of the French armies that he obtained leave to re-enter Prussia and to return to Templeberg, his own estate.

On the day on which the Peace of Tilsit was signed, the King recalled Von Stein, who had retired some months before on account of a disagreement with the Cabinet Councillor Beyme. The Baron was at his family seat at Nassau, arranging his private affairs, pondering over the rescue of his country, and attending to his health, which had been much shattered by

* Translated from Henning's *Memoir of Queen Louisa.*

† See Mrs Richardson's *Memoir*, p. 215.

gout. On the same day Blücher and Hardenberg also wrote, entreating him to return. Stein was suffering too much to write to the King with his own hand, and was obliged to dictate to his wife the following reply: 'I obey your Majesty's commands unconditionally, and leave it entirely to your Majesty to decide what office I am to undertake, or with whom I shall work. At this moment of national misfortune it would be highly immoral to allow any weight to personal considerations, and so much the more so, as our sovereign gives us so exalted an example of firmness.'*

This is really a noble letter. It shows Stein rising, as it were, above his former self, for he had been extremely tenacious; always well-intentioned and high-minded, but more inclined to be dictatorial than submissive to the King, and he had given way to violent temper. As soon as his health permitted Stein resumed public duty. He returned in the beginning of October, 1807; and only four days after his appointment as Minister of the Interior, a royal decree appeared which introduced a salutary reform into the constitution. By this ordinance the peasants and burghers obtained the right, hitherto confined to the nobles, of acquiring and holding landed property; while the latter in their turn were permitted, without losing caste, to engage in the pursuits of commerce and industry. Every species of slavery was done away with, and every remnant of feudal servitude. By a second ordinance, which is the Magna Charta of the Prussian burgs, important franchises were conferred on municipalities.* Thus, at the very moment when France, in-

* *Religious Life in Germany*, by William Baur. Vol. I. pp. 159, 160. Strahan and Co., London, 1870.

toxicated with victory, was losing the last remnant of the free institutions which had been called into existence during the fervour and crimes of the Revolution, Prussia, amidst the humiliation of unprecedented disasters, and when groaning under the weight of foreign chains, was silently relaxing the fetters of the feudal system, and laying the foundations of free institutions, —carrying on a cautious and guiltless reformation. Thus did Prussia exhibit to a wonderful degree the spirit of patriotism and constancy in misfortune. Adversity is the true test of political as well as of private virtue, and calamities which crush the feeble and degenerate serve only to animate the exertions and draw forth the energy of the uncorrupted portion of mankind. Instead of sinking in despair, the King and his ministers were only roused to additional exertions.†

During the ten years of peace which Prussia had enjoyed since the Treaty of Bâle, Frederick William had cultivated and exercised his natural taste for the arts; he was forming a gallery of paintings at Berlin which promised soon to rival the far-famed museums of Paris, Dresden, and Munich. All these gems were torn away by the ruthless conqueror, and his much-loved monuments of genius now adorned the Louvre, or graced the palace of the French Emperor.‡ But at that time the minds of both the King and Queen were too much engrossed with more important matters to grieve deeply over the loss of these treasures. The state was near bankruptcy, and the King was advised to declare it, but he replied, 'I may be unfortunate, but God will preserve me from committing a base act.'

* Baur and Alison. † Alison. 4th edition, vol. vi. p. 454. ‡ Ibid.

He had half of the contribution charged on his own estates, and this so completely impoverished him that he was obliged to borrow money, although he and all the Royal Family lived in the simplest possible way. The gold dinner-service of Frederick the Great was sent to the mint, and the Queen cheerfully parted with some of her most valuable jewels.

The Prussian army had been almost destroyed, it was evident that it must be immediately reconstructed on reformed principles and amended plans. The King and Queen also perceived that improvements might be made in the system of national education, that it was most essential to rear up a sensible, well-disciplined, strong-minded people. Queen Louisa bestowed a great deal of time and attention on this subject. She read Krummacher's *Kinderweld* (Children's World), and carefully perused the four volumes of *Lienhardt and Gertrude*, and other books which Pestalozzi recommended, and made use of in his method of teaching. With that sweet childlike impulsiveness which never forsook her, the Queen one day looked up from her book, exclaiming, 'Oh, how I should like to get into a carriage, and start off to Switzerland to find Pestalozzi, that I might shake hands with him and tell him how grateful I feel to him for having done so much good in the world.'*

* Fröbel afterwards adapted Pestalozzi's system to very young children. It led him to perceive how the infant mind might be drawn out, by showing the little children strong contrasts, and making them discern the mediums between them. Thus black and white are contrasts, and grey is the medium partaking of both. A ball and a cube are contrasts, and a cylinder partakes of the properties of both in form and power of movement. It is on Fröbel's modification of Pestalozzi's system that the German *Kindergartens* flourish.

The King and Queen did indeed set their subjects an example of fortitude under misfortune. Driven hither and thither by the vicissitudes of those strange times, they lived sometimes at Königsberg, sometimes at Memel. Still happy in their strong mutual affection, they thought more of the privations and burdens of their people than of what they had themselves to bear and suffer. The people saw and felt this; their loyalty grew deeper and warmer. In the fullest and most endearing sense of the words, Frederick William and Louisa were the father and mother of the land. The inhabitants of Königsberg and Memel watched them with an affectionate kind of reverence as they saw them walking through the streets with their children, acknowledging respectful greetings with a cheerfulness which helped to keep up the spirits of the people. But we know that in such a time of unlooked-for tribulation there must have been dark hours, when even the eye of faith seemed for a moment to seek in vain for a glimmering of light. Some of those persons who were constantly with the Queen have told us of sleepless nights, and of occasional fits of despondency which could only be relieved by tears and prayers.

Frederick William's farewell proclamation addressed to his subjects in the ceded provinces was touching. He declared that, yielding to dire necessity, he released them from their allegiance to him and his house; that he separated from them as a father separates from his children, that they would ever be dear to him, that when they were under another sovereign they would still have his good wishes for their welfare. From all sides he received kind answers; the most genuine was that of the Northern Westphalians. 'When we read

thy farewell,' they wrote, 'our hearts were breaking; we could not believe that we should cease to be thy faithful subjects, we who have always loved thee so much. As true as we live it is not thy fault that after the battle of Jena thy scattered armies were not led to our country, to join with our militia in a fresh combat. We would have staked our lives, and have saved the country, for our warriors have marrow in their bones, and their souls are not yet infected with the canker. Our wives nourish their children with their own milk, our daughters are no puppets of fashion, we desire to keep free from the pestilential spirit of the age. Yet we cannot change the decrees of Providence. Farewell, then, thou good old King. God grant that the remainder of thy country may furnish thee with wiser ministers and truer generals than those which have brought affliction on thee. It is not for us to struggle against our fate, we must with manly fortitude submit to what we cannot alter. May God be with us and give us a new ruler who will likewise be the father of the country; may he respect our language, our manners, our religion, and our municipalities as thou hast done, our dear good King. God grant thee peace, health, and happiness.'

Even in the time of deepest distress the calls of charity were not unheeded. In the winter of 1806, which succeeded the unfortunate autumn marked by the campaign of Jena, an orphanage had been organized. In that time of general calamity children were often found on the bridges, or at the corners of streets, abandoned by their mothers, who knew not how to support them: most of them were soldiers' children. Some humane persons met together and considered

how these foundlings could be brought up. On the Queen's birth-day, 1807, a subscription was opened, and the proposed institution received the name of Luisenstift, or Louisa's Association. The Queen took the liveliest interest, first in the rearing, and then in the working of this institution. Her letter to the Provost of Berlin shows how deeply she felt and thought on the subjects connected with this philanthropic undertaking:—

'Anxiety to do good has always been a remarkable feature in the character of the inhabitants of Berlin, but it has never been more finely displayed than in the unhappy war which is just concluded. I am much touched by the delicate proof of esteem, trust, and love which the members of the Institution, according to your letter of the 12th instant, have given me, by wishing to name the Institution after me, and to place it under my protection. I joyfully consent to both, and undertake, besides, the maintenance of four wards according to the calculated costs; and I request you, Mr Provost, to select four little foundlings, according to the rules set forth, and to appoint them a guardian. I beg you to employ the accompanying hundred gold Fredericks for the first arrangements. The war which has brought so much unavoidable evil upon the nation whose land-mother it is my pride to be, has also brought much rich fruit to perfection, and has scattered the seeds of much good. Let us unite carefully to nurture these, so may we hope richly to compensate for the loss of power by gain in virtue.

'Your affectionate

'Louisa.

'*Memel, August* 31*st*, 1807.'

Archbishop Borowsky describes the Queen in this season of affliction, as grave and composed, but still pleasing and graceful. Her eyes had lost their joyful brilliancy, the roses had faded from her cheeks, the bright smile which used to hover round her mouth was not so often to be seen there, and a slight contraction of the lips sometimes gave a sorrowful expression, but one altogether free from anger and every kind of bitterness. Her dress in those days was so simple that it reminded the Bishop of St Peter's admonition, that the adornment of women should consist, 'not in plaiting the hair, and wearing gold and sumptuous apparel, but in the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God is of great price.'

'The piety of our honoured Queen,' says Borowsky, 'is simple, healthful, and entirely Christian in its manifestation. She approaches with awe the sacred truths of religion, and hungers and thirsts after righteousness; she is therefore highly susceptible of the consolations of religion. It is most gratifying to me that all her views, her convictions, her feelings, and endeavours are founded on the scriptural promises contained in the sacred volume: in these views I endeavour to strengthen her.' *

The testimony which the Bishops Eylert and Borowsky bear to the depth and sincerity of Queen Louisa's religious feelings coincides exactly, as we see, if we consider that the former knew her most intimately in prosperity, and the latter in adversity. To Bishop Eylert the Queen said: 'It is precisely when I think most seriously and profoundly, as far as I am able to

* Mrs Richardson, quoting Archbishop Borowsky. See *Memoirs of Louisa, Queen of Prussia*, by Mrs Charles Richardson, p. 234.

do so, that I always come immediately to the limits which impose cessation of inquiry; and no firm foundation can I find, but on faith alone. It is precisely when I feel myself best disposed, when all is clear and tranquil in my own mind, that I most feel what is yet wanting there.'*

After the calm serenity of her mind had been disturbed by many a stroke of trouble, Bishop Borowsky waited on her one Sunday morning, and found her alone in her sitting-room reading the Bible. He thus describes the interview. 'The Queen rose quickly, and met me in the most friendly manner, at once beginning:—Now I have thought over and felt the precious 126th Psalm, about which we were talking. The more I meditate on it, and try to grasp its meaning, the more its loveliness and sublimity attract me. The anguish of soul which is expressed is deep, but tranquil, peaceful, and tender. What it will effect, and the fruit which it will bring forth, is strikingly explained under the pleasing figure of seed-time and harvest. The hope which soars above all, and makes all sorrow bearable, is like the hues of morning, and you hear in the distance the triumphant songs of the victor rising above the tumult of the waves of sorrow. It is pervaded by a spirit of melancholy, but also of victory, of resignation, and the most joyful trust; it is an elegy, but also a hymn of praise, a hallelujah mingled with tears.' The Queen repeated the psalm to the Bishop in a firm, clear voice, and in a tone of the purest devotion, slightly altering it here and there to adapt it to her own circumstances. As he listened, the words, 'In Thy light shall we see light,' came into his mind,

* Mrs Richardson's *Memoir*.

and everything seemed clearer to him than it was before.*

By the advice of the Bishop, the King and Queen each studied a particular portion of Holy Scripture: the Queen selected the Book of Psalms, the King chose the Book of Daniel,—that book which sanctifies all history by establishing the fundamental truth that kingdoms do not rise and fall by the workings of a blind chance,—that book which shows the utter weakness of every earthly potentate, who by the might of his own power builds his great Babylon for himself:—which puts before us prophetic visions incessantly turning into history, most of which are accomplished, and we know that all must be fulfilled.

'Borowsky,' said the King, 'proves to me from the Scriptures, and also from profane history, that God's ways must often seem to us dark and mysterious, but we may feel assured that they are always holy, wise, and salutary: that by His wisdom and mercy this world is so ordered that evil works out its own destruction, and good—that is, all that agrees with the will of God—must prevail at last. States and rulers often need to be refined, that the dross gathered during a course of prosperity may be burnt out. He who is no better for having been under adversity is incapable of improvement, and utterly worthless. We must be believing, patient, and steadfast; we must wait, and not prescribe to God; not make up our minds as to what He will do, but leave all trustfully to Him. He will help us in the best way, and at the right time, if we are worthy to be helped.'

* See *Religious Life in Germany*, by William Baur. Vol. i. pp. 93, 94. Strahan and Co., London, 1870.

During the year 1807 the King and Queen lived, as we have seen, partly at Königsberg and partly at Memel. At Memel there was no house at all suitable for them, that in which they resided was so small that the Crown Prince and Prince William, with their tutor, were lodged in the house of a wealthy merchant named Argelander.

Queen Louisa's innate love of giving pleasure to others, and the good taste with which she did so, shone forth like a sunbeam from behind the clouds on the occasion of Frau Argelander's birth-day. The Queen arranged a simple but exceedingly pretty fête, as a surprise to the merchant's family and friends, and as a token of the gratitude which their Majesties felt for the kindness which the Princes had received under the hospitable roof of a faithful subject; in which feeling they wished all the royal children to participate. It was a delightful holiday for all; and much gratified the lady especially complimented, and her relations and guests, who, in accordance with a hearty German custom, had assembled to congratulate her on her birth-day. On this happy day the Queen presented Frau Argelander with a bracelet containing the hair of the two young Princes. Among the company there chanced to be a simple-minded unknown genius,—one of 'the poets that are sown by nature.' The Queen wished to encourage him, and with that view she requested him to write a verse on every one of the birth-day presents, which gave great amusement to the whole party.*

While the Royal Family were living at Memel, many persons were reminded of a pretty little poem which

* Dr Julius Lasker.

Frederick William Schlegel had written years ago on Queen Louisa. One of the verses may be thus translated:—

> 'She would be a Queen if she lived in a cottage,
> The Queen of every heart.'

Now these words proved to be something more than an elegant poetical eulogy; it appeared that they were founded on the poet's knowledge of the Queen's unaffected character, that he had perceived its innate simplicity, dignity, and strength.

The King and Queen had much comfort in their domestic life. In one of her letters to her father written from Memel, the Queen wrote, 'I read and think, and in spite of our troubles there are days when I feel happily contented—this comes from inward feeling, not from external circumstances. Externally there is only the friendship of the King; his confidence and affectionate behaviour constitute my happiness.' Again she wrote, 'The King is more kind to me than ever—a great happiness and reward, after a union of fourteen years.'

Equally happy in their marriage were Prince and Princess William, and their noble devotion to their country did much towards exciting and rightly directing Prussian patriotism; kindling and fanning the flame which at last destroyed Napoleon's power over the land.

The French were not to leave the country until the enormous sum which had been demanded had been paid, and it seemed impossible to raise it while they remained. It was hoped that if Prince William were sent as ambassador to Napoleon he would lessen his

demands. Alexander Von Humboldt was to prepare the way for him at Paris, and to be ready to support him in his slippery path. It was thought that the Prince might have influence, as he would hereafter take an important part in public affairs. But besides this scheme, from which the government hoped for success, the Prince and his wife had thought of another: he would offer himself as a hostage, in order to lighten the burden imposed on his country, and the Princess was willing to follow him into imprisonment. She expresses her readiness to make this sacrifice in the following touching letter to her husband :—

'That I can write this without trembling, without sinking, is taught by love—and only by strong love. If I can be with you, be it in a prison or a palace, if only with honour, I shall hasten to join you. When it is over, we shall return to our country with joy. . . . Surely, however heartless he may be, he will allow me to share your fate! We are alone—we may do this. Amelia is dead. Then we shall be happy for ever.'

When this letter reached the Prince in Paris the embassy had already failed. He had offered himself as a hostage till payment was completed, in order that his country might be immediately liberated, and he had pressed his request on the Emperor with great earnestness and animation. Napoleon appeared to look on him with admiration—embraced him, and said, 'That is very noble, but it is impossible.' *

Prince William was treated with distinction, though he did not gain his object. His brave attempt was not altogether made in vain; the moral effect of the example

* *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Vol. i. pp. 113, 114. Translation published by Strahan & Co., London.

was great, and it tended to bind the Prussian people still more closely to their Royal Family.

The Queen much wished, if possible, to spend the winter in Königsberg, as the cold sea air of Memel did not agree with her health, which was in consequence becoming seriously affected. At length, after many vexing delays, the country was evacuated as far as the Vistula, and it was then arranged that the Court should remove to Königsberg on the 15th of December, 1807. When the Royal Family left Memel the King wrote the following letter to the inhabitants of that town:—

'I thank my brave citizens of Memel for their true and steadfast attachment to my person, my wife, and my whole house. Memel is the only town in my dominions which has escaped the worst calamities of war; but it has proved itself capable of enduring them, and ready, if called on, to resist the enemy. I shall never forget that Divine Providence preserved to us an asylum in this town, and that its people evinced the warmest and most constant attachment to us. Their conduct when danger seemed to be approaching won my high esteem, and is indelibly fixed on my memory. With pleasure shall I always look out for opportunities of showing that I retain these recollections and sentiments.

'Your gracious King,

'FREDERICK WILLIAM.

'*Memel, January 14th*, 1808.'

The King and his family were welcomed at Königsberg with loud and warm demonstrations of loyalty. The first thing worthy of note which occurred after their return to that city was the election of the Crown

Prince to be Rector of the University of Königsberg. That a Royal heir should be chosen was not without precedent. This seat of learning was founded by Albert Duke of Brandenburg, in 1567, the year before that in which he died; his eldest son, Albert Frederick, was its first Rector. Other princes of sovereign houses had succeeded, among them King Frederick William I. The son of Frederick William III. was young to receive this dignity, being only thirteen years of age, but his parents did not object to its being conferred on him.

The Prince was elected on the 18th of January, 1808, the anniversary of the foundation of the Prussian monarchy; and on the 6th of March, with all due solemnity, the insignia of office were publicly conferred on His Royal Highness, in the hall of the university. A grand fête, which terminated in a torchlight procession, was given on the occasion.

The King and Queen both felt that the education of their sons was an object of the deepest importance to the country as well as to themselves. Delbrück, who had hitherto conducted the education of the Crown Prince, had fulfilled his duties satisfactorily, but the talented youth now required to be brought forward by a more generally accomplished man, one able fully to bring out the Prince's natural gifts, and to cultivate the manly qualities of heart and character required in him who is to rule his fellow-men.

General York was thought of. It will be remembered that in her earlier days—the days of her most brilliant prosperity—General York had not entirely participated in the almost universal admiration lavished on the amiable and captivating young Queen. The stern

officer, whose instincts were more military than courtly, who had outgrown his own young feelings, was disposed to criticize keenly and to judge harshly. But when he saw the same Queen bearing the trials of adversity, she involuntarily commanded his highest esteem and approbation. The consciousness that he had formerly conceived mistaken ideas of her, now made him the more justly appreciate her fully-developed character. On her side, Queen Louisa entertained a very high opinion of General York, by whom she had never been flattered, therefore she felt strong confidence in him. Her Majesty endeavoured to persuade him to undertake the education of her eldest son; but York declined on conscientious motives. He felt deeply gratified by this clearest proof of trust and regard which the King and Queen could give, but he thought that he was not in every respect competent to all the various duties included under that appointment. By the advice of Baron Von Stein it was given to Ancillon, who was in every way worthy of the distinction conferred upon him.

On the 1st of February the Queen's youngest daughter was born. The King determined that the Eastern States of Prussia should be the sponsors for this child. Accordingly, the clergy, nobility, burghers, in short, every class of the people, sent deputies who appeared at the baptismal ceremony to give to this princess the name endeared to them all through the goodness and virtues of her mother. They were introduced to Her Majesty and other members of the Royal Family, and the King enertained them with a banquet, provided in a liberal but not an ostentatious spirit.

Before they left the table, one of the sponsors, the spokesman of the party, delivered a quaint, poetical speech, which reminds us of the Saltbund, and of the fact that over East Prussia the salt, which had not yet lost its savour, had been cast.* The unconscious infant was thus addressed: 'Louisa Wilhelmina, god-child of the people, thou art the gentle mediator between the King and us: a pledge of mutual love and fidelity. Mayest thou live to stand, a full-grown blooming virgin, among thy brothers and sisters; may then thy royal house be flourishing in renewed glory. Meanwhile dark hours will pass like storm-birds over thy head—thou wilt hear the rushing of their wings, but it will not frighten thee. Thou, sweet one, wilt smile, feeling nothing but thy childish happiness and the charm of life. Loving arms will hold thee safely, high above the precipice on the edge of which we stand. May the future smile on us through thee. In thee we see thy father's love to us, and by thy bright eyes may the people speak comfort to the King, saying, "We are thine, thou art our lord and master: be strong and true to thyself. Trust not in thy councillors and thy servants, for they are not all full of courage, nor all of one mind. What they have done and what they have left undone has brought us near to ruin. Trust thine own judgment, thine own heart, and we will trust in thee. We are all thine, master; be strong and true to thyself."'

The spring, which was unusually mild this year, strengthened the Queen's health so much that she was able to enjoy the pleasant scenery in the neighbourhood of Königsberg. The heavy pressure of national

* See *Introductory Sketch of Prussian History*, pp. 75, 76.

calamity seemed also to be passing off, and hopes promising a brighter time to come budded forth, but were again and again nipped by French despotism. The evacuation of the country gave great relief, which was soon sensibly felt, although it was very slowly proceeded with. The Prince and Princess William, the Princess Louisa of Radzivil, and other members of the Royal Family, had moved with the court to Königsberg, and Prince Hohenzollern, Abbot of Oliva, Bishop of Ermeland, made a long visit. Being truly a religious man, and at the same time generally intellectual, and a lover of art, he was an agreeable addition to the high circle. The Queen's physicians, Heim and Hufeland, were much at the palace. The latter often dined and passed the evening there; his memoirs have made us acquainted with some of the most interesting incidents in the Queen's domestic life. We hear of the historians Johannes Von Müller and Süvern as being much with the King and Queen at that time. Of Süvern the Queen wrote thus to her sister the Princess Frederica of Solms:—

'I have made the acquaintance of Professor Süvern; his praises embarrassed me, as I felt I did not merit them. He said my judgment of history was correct and clear; but ignorant as I am, the glitter which surrounds my position must have blinded his judgment. I cannot believe that my opinion can be of real value in the eyes of a man who himself thinks so deeply, and is so well-informed on all subjects: but you may be glad to know that in these mournful times I can refresh my wearied spirits by interesting myself in science. I hope he understands me, if not Schneffner must tell him that I like truth above all things.'

Schneffner was the councillor of war—a great favourite with the King. This old man was very fond of the Crown Prince, and took great interest in the progress of his education. He encouraged young Frederick William to write themes on various subjects. One of them, an historical sketch of Varus and Herman, which was particularly clever, much delighted the venerable councillor, whose genial disposition loved everything good, and helped to bring it out. In bygone days Schneffner, like Blücher, had displeased Frederick the Great by being too independent and candid. Now, a recollection of the past did but make him the more fully appreciate the purer atmosphere, the free fresh air of truthfulness, which circulated round the throne.*

About this time, Frederick Schleiermacher came to Königsberg, deputed by some of the most zealous patriots of Berlin to undertake a political mission to the court and government. Schleiermacher was a clergyman, a Professor of the University of Halle; and he was one of the besieged when the town of Halle was invested and assaulted. He had watched the fighting from the garden of his friend Heinrich Steffens, in the suburbs which commanded a distant view of the scene of action. Blinded by confidence in the Prussian army, and deluded by false reports, they all thought the Prussians had won the victory; nor did they discover their mistake until scattered fugitives rushed into the town, hotly pursued by the foe: then they

* Several of Queen Louisa's biographers give a note she wrote to Schneffner inviting him to the palace, but requesting him to come, not in thin stockings, but in boots. Her Majesty graciously and kindly concludes thus: 'I love and reverence old age, and for that reason I must take care of it.'

fled as fast as possible to Schleiermacher's house, which was in the town. The bombarding had already commenced, and these two men had to help Steffens' wife, child, and maid-servant, and Schleiermacher's sister, through the streets, while shots and shells were falling fast, and the enemy was pouring in. They reached their destination safely, and locked and barred the house door, but French soldiers broke in and took possession, leaving them only one small room with no beds, and scarcely any furniture or food. Schleiermacher, convinced that through a time of trouble it is well to proceed as regularly as possible with any good work that can be carried on, had sat quietly day after day in a corner of the room writing his Commentary on St Paul's First Epistle to Timothy. Steadfastness of purpose, perseverance that will not be turned aside from the object aimed at, was Schleiermacher's strong point of character. After the siege he and Steffens were in very straitened circumstances, but they determined to keep together; they felt that their minds were not subdued, and that the fate of their country depended on the courage of her sons.

Napoleon stayed three days in Halle. He was astonished to find that all the students did not live in their colleges under supervision, and he had expected to find them all shut up. The independent spirit of the Professors excited his vehement anger. 'Men of letters,' he said, 'should have nothing to do with politics, their sole duty is to cultivate and diffuse science.' He ordered all the students to leave the town instantly, and return home to their parents or guardians, and he declared that he closed the University because the Professors had mistaken their vocation. About two

years after its suppression the University was re-opened, which was chiefly due to the intercession of Baron Von Rumohr.*

Schleiermacher then returned to Halle, and resumed his duties as a college tutor. His theology was very incomplete; 'but,' says Wilhelm Baur, 'the value of his influence consisted in the sincerity and earnestness with which he laboured to restore respect for religion in general, and for Christianity, as consisting in a religious life, having its foundation in Christ. He is not to be judged by the number of his orthodox opinions, but by the powerful conviction with which he grasped those he held.'†

When Westphalia was wrenched from Prussia, Schleiermacher left the country; he would not stay at Halle after prayers had been ordered for King Jerome. He went immediately to Berlin, where he soon became known as a stirring political preacher. 'His sermons bore testimony against patriotism which thinks it can dispense with religion, and religion which thinks it can dispense with patriotism.'‡

Schleiermacher met the King and Queen and the noble-minded members of the now limited court circle on the common ground of faith in the future of Germany: that the whole country would rise again under fairer auspices. Already the most influential men were looking forward to, and preparing for, war with France. It was hoped that Austria and the North German provinces would join with Prussia, that England would lend her aid, and that the war in Spain

* *Germany from* 1760 *to* 1814. By Mrs Austin.
† *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Vol. i. p. 311.
‡ Ibid.

would hinder Napoleon's progress in Germany. As yet no open preparation was possible, but all who were warmly attached to their country formed throughout the whole of North Germany a close but secret alliance for the purpose of obtaining and spreading exact intelligence concerning their own strength and that of the enemy.*

It was commonly thought that Baron Von Stein drew down on himself the anger of Napoleon by founding the secret society called the 'Tugendbund,' or 'League of Virtue,' the object of which was to incite the Germans to a general patriotic opposition to the French. This statement has since been as generally confuted. Vehse says, 'Stein did not, as was long believed, place himself at the head of the so-called "League of Virtue," which was established in the summer of 1808 at Königsberg, and which soon spread over the whole monarchy.' This league, the secret aim of which was stated to be the shaking-off of the foreign yoke, seemed to him too impractical, and what little was practical in it seemed to degenerate into meanness. Its principal members were the numerous functionaries out of place; the government was overwhelmed by a multitude of civil servants, no less than seven thousand, who had been deprived of their situations in the ceded provinces. Many officers on half pay joined the Tugendbund, and those among them who lived in the country gave hunting parties and other amusements which furnished a pretext for assembling a large number of people. But the real object of this secret league, the casting off a foreign yoke, was also that of Stein's policy. He thought it right to keep up

* *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Vol. i. p. 311.

a feeling of independence among the people, to keep their anger alive that it might not subside into a careless submission to oppression, which became every day more galling to those who heartily desired the freedom of their country.* It was hardly possible that a confederation which included statesmen, officers, poets, students, all classes of the community, should long escape the vigilance of Napoleon, whose system of *espionnage* was completely organized. He discovered the fact that a secret society existed, and he suspected that it had originated with Stein; that minister's intrepid system of government had already awakened the French authorities to a sense of danger. His dismissal being peremptorily insisted on by Napoleon, the King of Prussia was obliged to yield, and to discharge his faithful servant; but this time he did so in a manner creditable both to the monarch and the minister. Frederick William wrote a gracious letter acknowledging Stein's past services, and expressing high esteem; very different from his angry letter of 1806.†

The ex-minister had scarcely rejoined his family, after a separation of fifteen months, when the French ambassador appeared as the bearer of an Imperial decree (dated from Madrid), which declared Heinrich Karl Friedrich Von Stein to be the enemy of France and of the Confederation of the Rhine, that his possessions were confiscated, and that he was to be taken prisoner wherever he might be found. This decree was published in all parts of Germany, and Prussia

* *Memoirs of the Court of Prusssia.* From the German of Dr Edward Vehse. By Franz C. Demmler. Nelson & Sons.

† Stein was succeeded by Altenstein, whose ministry lasted only eighteen months. Hardenberg was then recalled; he remained on the whole true to Stein's system of government.

was threatened with war if Stein remained in office or even in the country. He was therefore obliged to fly, but the ban invested him with the halo of the martyr; and as a bright example, an object of many prayers and blessings, he quitted his ancestral home. He went first to Prague, and afterwards to Brünn, where he lived for a few years in peace, carefully rearing his daughters, and himself instructing them in history.

The Emperor of France gained nothing by this act of despotism. Von Stein was too well known by the intelligent classes to be forgotten; from his retreat he really directed the Prussian councils; and by the appointment of Scharnhorst to the office of Minister of War the door was opened to a variety of important changes in that department. The plan devised for counteracting the disadvantages consequent on the subsisting engagements with Napoleon was equally simple and efficacious. By a condition of the Treaty of Tilsit the Prussian army was limited to the number of forty-two thousand men. To elude this restriction, and at the same time to avoid any direct or obvious infringement of the treaty, Scharnhorst took care never to have more than the agreed-on number of men at once in arms, but no sooner were the young soldiers sufficiently drilled, than they were sent home and other recruits called to the national standards; who in like manner, after a brief period of service, made way for others in succession. By this simple but admirable system, which is the true secret of the political strength and military renown of Prussia, a military spirit was diffused through the whole population. The passion for arms became universal; and while forty thousand only were enrolled in the regular

army, two hundred thousand brave men were ere long trained to arms, and ready at a moment's warning to join the standards of their country.*

Thus Napoleon's arbitrary decrees did but increase the number of his enemies, and give them strength. On the approach of the French, Ernst Moritz Arndt had thought it prudent to leave Germany, for by his writings he had made himself a marked man. In his *Germania and Europe* he had very plainly expressed his opinion on the so-called enlightenment which many were glorying in at the close of the last and beginning of the present century. He had lamented the consequent mistakes which had been made in directing the education of youth, to which he ascribed the absence of noble impulses in the rising generation, and the blindness to religious truth.† In his *Spirit of the Age* he had drawn a severe but not an untruthful picture of the demoralization of all classes; had shown that even the highest had but low standards of honour, and he had written furiously against the French Emperor and his allies. Therefore, immediately on hearing of the catastrophe of Jena, Arndt had felt that he must quit Griefswald, the University in Pomerania at which he had been studying or teaching for ten years,

* Alison's *History of Europe*, 4th edition, vol. vi. p. 46.

† 'Arndt, in his *Germania and Europe*, points out that the greatest evil among his countrymen is an exaggerated spirituality. By this he means the substitution of a false idealism for the sober realities of life; the contempt of morality as a common-place thing.' Of religion he says, 'The holy mysteries of our religion are lost sight of, and she has become a repulsive mixture of superstition and unbelief, which has given rise to fanaticism and gloomy mysticism, and social life has degenerated into mere spiritless and common-place intercourse.'—*Religious Life in Germany*. By William Baur. Vol. i. p. 242. Strahan & Co., London, 1870.

and where he had taken his degrees of M.A. and Doctor of Philosophy. Latterly he had been giving historical lectures on the Revolutions of Europe. He spoke boldly in favour of freedom, his political principles being now diametrically opposite to those which he had warmly advocated in his youthful days, when Frederick the Great was his favourite hero and model sovereign. Forced by untoward events to give up his academical career, Arndt went to Stockholm, where he was fortunate in obtaining a government appointment at Stralsund. This fixed him at that place for a time, but he was not in a frame of mind to settle permanently to any quiet course of life. He joined the little bands of patriots fighting on the Danube and among the mountains of the Tyrol, and took part in the gallant Schill's fatal enterprise. No doubt at the moment Arndt would have chosen death rather than life, and envied those who fell. But his work for Germany was not yet done. He was therefore providentially led through innumerable perils to his brother's house at Trantow in Sweden, where he arrived in disguise, and was heartily welcomed. Their parents being dead, he stayed with his brother, awaiting better times, and hoping still; for he wrote—'He is a bad man who loses all hope; an old poet has said, "Hope is for the living." I say she is also for the dead. Old things must die to give place to the new, as we shall awake from the grave to a more glorious life.' *

During the summer of 1808 the King took a small estate called Hufen Garten, situated in a beautiful valley not far from Königsberg. Their Majesties grate-

* *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Also *Ernst Moritz Arndt*, Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1870.

fully declined to occupy the handsome house of a wealthy merchant, placed at their disposal, as they thought it better to be in a smaller abode of their own. Here with her husband and children, her books and a good piano-forte, the Queen was as happy as she could be under existing circumstances. She was reading Süvern's Lectures on early German History, and expressed admiration for Theodoric, whose character struck her as being remarkably truthful and upright; she thought him more truly magnanimous than Charlemagne, and with a sally of that lively patriotism always ready to spring forth from the depths of her heart, Louisa pronounced Theodoric to be a truly German ruler. An ancient motto which the Queen met with pleased her so much that she had it engraved for a seal,—'Justice, Faith, and Love,'—but when speaking of it, she thought of another short sentence—'In God is my trust,' and she said that was the best of all mottoes.

While the Prussian Royal Family were thus living in exile, unable to return to the capital of the kingdom, Berlin was suffering terribly in consequence of the change. The unfortunate city was passing through the trials of poverty, misery, and the entire *bouleversement* of society; 'people living in garrets who used to live in palaces; all burning tallow instead of wax candles; Jews and tradesmen forming the cream of the *parties élégantes* at Hatzfelt's.'* Count Hatzfelt was the person of highest importance then in Berlin, who, as well as circumstances permitted, performed the functions of a governor.

* *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.* Letter of Mr F. J. Jackson to Mr George Jackson, dated Downing Street, May 30, 1809. Vol. ii. p. 448. Bentley, London, 1872.

The Emperors of France and Russia determined on meeting a second time to consult together over their gigantic projects. Erfurth was the town selected for this meeting, and there a conference was held between the two potentates almost rivalling that of Tilsit in interest and importance. Napoleon surrounded himself with even more than regal state, and the Russian autocrat respectfully awaited his arrival in this German town, more than five hundred miles distant from the nearest point of his own dominions. Napoleon and his splendid *cortège* arrived, and His Imperial Majesty immediately found himself the object of obsequious attention to a crowd of princes who depended on his breath for their political existence or nominal independence. All the beauty, rank, and distinction of Germany were assembled; seventy princes or independent sovereigns were in attendance, and literally it might be said, that the monarchs of Europe watched for a favourable sign from the mighty conqueror's chamberlains. A brilliant band of music from Paris graced the conference, and during a fortnight, the theatre of Erfurth, resplendent with illustrious men and beautiful women, beheld the masterpieces of Racine and Corneille performed by Talma, Saint Pris, Mademoiselles Duchesnois, Bourgoin, and a host of inferior performers. On the 6th of October the whole court proceeded to Weimar, where they were magnificently entertained by the Grand Duke, and Napoleon enjoyed the pleasure of conversing with Goethe, Wieland, and other men of genius who have thrown an imperishable lustre over German literature. On the 7th the whole party visited the field of Jena, and on the 14th, the second anniversary of that great

battle, Napoleon and Alexander parted, never to meet again.* They had settled the affairs of the world to their mutual satisfaction. Alexander had given his sanction to the invasion of Spain and Portugal, and the placing of princes of the Napoleonic dynasty on the thrones of the Peninsula, as well as to the establishment of Murat in the kingdom of Naples, and the annexation of Tuscany to the French empire. On the other hand, Napoleon had consented to the uniting of Finland, Moravia, and Wallachia to the already vast dominions of the Czar; had admitted his relation and future brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, into the Confederation of the Rhine; had given satisfactory explanations in regard to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; and held out to the Emperor of the East the prospect of obtaining aid from France in the attempt to stretch his mighty arms over the Asiatic continent, and give a deadly wound to the power of England on the plains of Hindostan.†

The Emperor Alexander spent some days at Königsberg both in going to Erfurth and in returning thence, and he invited the King and Queen of Prussia to visit him in his own capital before their return to Berlin. The invitation was accepted, not only for the sake of pleasure, but also because it was highly desirable that the King should go to St Petersburg, where he would have the opportunity of meeting German patriots who had sought refuge in Russia.

Their Majesties and the suite in attendance set out on the 27th of December, in light carriages placed on sledges, which at the end of the first day's journey

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. pp. 806—809.
† Ibid., pp. 811, 812.

brought them to Memel. At Polanzen, on the Russian frontier, they were met by Count Lieven, who was deputed by the Emperor to present the Royal travellers and their chief attendants with pelisses of the finest fur, and to accompany them to St Petersburg. At every town through which they passed the King and Queen were received with regal honour. The Emperor met them at Streina, the summer residence of his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, and on the following day they entered St Petersburg in full state. The Emperor wore the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle, the King the Russian Order of St Andrew, and the Queen appeared in a white satin pelisse trimmed with magnificent sable. At the entrance of the winter palace the King and Queen were received by the whole of the Imperial court. The two Empresses, wife and mother of Alexander, met them at the door of the first ante-chamber. Alexander had been married nearly seven years to a Princess of Baden. The apartments appropriated to the Royal visitors in that part of the palace called the Hermitage, were furnished and decorated with the greatest possible magnificence, and adorned with every description of the most tasteful objects of virtu. Twelve rooms were prepared for the Queen's personal use, all exquisitely furnished, and in her dressing-room she found a basket of rich Turkish shawls selected for her as presents. Our 12th of January is New-year's eve according to the Russian Kalendar. On that festival, gifts are always exchanged, and the King and Queen received some valuable presents. Rich silks and jewels and a splendid set of gold ornaments had been selected for the Queen. On the following morning, the Russian New-year's day,

a royal wedding was solemnized. Alexander's sister, the Grand Duchess Catherine, was married to a Prince of Oldenburg, and the happy event was celebrated by a succession of fêtes. Napoleon had honoured this Princess by the offer of his hand, for he had already resolved on divorcing Josephine. This proposal had been made to the Czar at Erfurth. He referred the matter to his mother, the Empress Dowager, who had quickly terminated the negotiation by alleging religious scruples; and very soon afterwards the Princess was betrothed to the Prince of Oldenburg.* The birthday of the Empress Elizabeth also occurred during the visit of the King and Queen of Prussia, on which occasion a grand entertainment was given. The Queen complimented her amiable hostess by adopting the Russian style of dress, which suited her well.

The Queen devoted a portion of every day to seeing the objects most worthy of attention in St Petersburg, and she became very much interested in that fine city, especially in its charitable institutions. The Empress-mother had lately founded one for the benefit of young women well born, but reduced by misfortune to the necessity of earning their bread. Queen Louisa was very much pleased with this educational establishment, and ardently desired to found a similar one at Berlin. On her return to Prussia she described it fully, and spoke much of it to Archbishop Barowski, to Schneffner, and others who delighted in good works. Again her sanguine spirit rose, and she planned, although for want of means no substantial commencement could be made.

The King and Queen left St Petersburg on the last

* Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. p. 813.

day of January, and reached Könisberg on the 10th of February, having stopped on their homeward journey at Mittau. There the assembled nobility of Courland, who were formerly officers in the Prussian service, had prepared a festive reception for their Majesties, which, as Mrs Richardson remarks, deserves especial attention as being an open proof of their dependence on the royal house of Prussia. During the King's short absence from his dominions, the states still forming the kingdom of Prussia had been evacuated by the French, according to final arrangements made at Erfurth. Napoleon's troops left Berlin on the 30th of December; Davoust resigned the keys into the withered hands of Prince Ferdinand, and on the same day the Brandenburg Hussars and a cavalry regiment commanded by Major Schill entered the city. The return of the court to Berlin, though much desired, could not yet be determined on; it appeared prudent to await the result of the war between France and Austria which had recommenced. The Queen took deep interest in the progress of hostilities, watching events and incidents with an anxious alternation of hope and fear. This accounts for the melancholy tone of a reply to birthday congratulations that year; but there is a passage in another letter, also written in this time of trial, which takes us below the agitated surface of the troubled waters. 'I am come back from St Petersburg as I went. Nothing dazzles me now; yes, I feel it daily more and more, my kingdom is not of this world.'

The war was swiftly brought to a conclusion by the battle of Wagram. The Austrians, though unbroken, were forced to retire from that well-fought field. This grieved the Queen, as she had trusted in the spirit and

power of Austria. Her feelings and reflections under the disappointment are fully and clearly expressed in the following letter to her father:

Hufen Garten, 1809.

'My very dear Father,

'All is lost, if not for ever, at least for the present. As long as I live I shall never hope for anything again. I resign myself in submission to the dispensations of Providence. I am quite composed, and in the tranquillity which resignation gives, if I have not external happiness, I find a better blessing in the inward peace of mind. It becomes clearer to me every day that all that has happened was right and necessary (*what ought to have been*). Providence would lead round to a new order of things, to renew the old worn-out system of our politics, which could not last any longer. We have slept on the laurels of the great Frederick, who had, as the hero of his time, begun a new era. We have not made the progress required by the march of events; we have not kept pace with the times, and we have been left behind. Nobody sees that more clearly than does the King. I have just had a long conversation with him on the subject, and he said to me very seriously: "All this ought to be altered, many things must be reformed." The best and the wisest men sometimes fail, and the Emperor of the French is very clever and politic. When the Russians and Prussians had fought like lions, even if not conquered they were driven from the field, and the enemy had the advantage. We may learn much from Napoleon; what he has done will not be lost upon us. It would be blasphemous to say that God had been with

him, but he seems to be an instrument in the hand of the Almighty to do away with old things that have lost vitality: to cut off, as it were, the dead wood, which is still externally one with the tree to which it owes its existence. That which is dead is utterly useless,—that which is dying does but draw the sap from the trunk, and gives nothing in return. Certainly better times will come, our faith in Him who is Goodness itself, assures me of this. Only that which is good can produce good. This is why I cannot think that the Emperor Napoleon is firmly and safely seated on his splendid throne. Only truth and justice are immutable. He has worldly wisdom, that is to say, he is politic, but nothing more. He does not act in obedience to eternal laws, but according to the circumstances which rise up before him: thus the glory of his reign is tarnished with injustice; the objects which he strives to arrive at, are not legitimate. His inordinate ambition has no aim beyond his personal aggrandizement. His character inspires more astonishment than admiration. He is blinded by fortune, and thinks he has the power of acting entirely according to his own imperious will, therefore he does not know what moderation means, and the man who is without moderation must consequently lose his equilibrium and fall. I firmly believe in God. I believe that He rules the affairs of the world by His wisdom; and in the abuse of force I do not find evidences of this Divine wisdom. I hope for better times, that future good will come out of present evil. All good men have at heart that same desire and hope, that end in view. All that is happening, and all that we have already suffered, has produced a state of things which cannot be

permanent, it is only a rugged path which we must tread carefully, step by step—it leads to the goal towards which we are pressing—that may be far off; probably we shall never reach it, and we may die whilst attempting to do so. But, is not everything in the world transitory? and for us there is the great transition—the resurrection to a better world—the great change for which we should make preparation day by day. Here, my dear father, you have my political confession of faith, as well as a woman can define and express it. I dare say it is very imperfect, but you will understand me. . . . .

'I must tell you, my dear father, that misfortune has not disturbed the happiness of my domestic life; on the contrary, it seems to have bound my husband and myself the more closely together. The King is kinder and more affectionate to me than ever, still like a lover or a bridegroom; his affection for me is always manifested by actions more than by words, and it has always been so with him: it is his habit. But yesterday he said to me in his simple way, looking at me with the fondest expression of countenance, "My Louisa, you have become still dearer to me in the time of trouble, for I more fully know by experience the treasure I possess. Let the storm rage out of doors, no matter, so long as it is peaceful good weather within. It is because I love thee so dearly that I have named our youngest little daughter Louisa." I could not help shedding tears, may the little one grow up to be his Louisa. . . . ,

'My dear father will, I am sure, forgive me for having poured out all my happiness to him; for he will rejoice in it more than any one else in the world. It is better

not to say much about this to people generally, as I have learnt from the King. It is enough that we feel it ourselves.

'Our children are our most precious treasures, and we look on them with satisfaction and hope. The Crown Prince is very lively; he has talents which are well brought out and cultivated. He is particularly truthful; his veracity can always be depended on, for it seems impossible for him to dissimulate. He reads history with pleasure and intelligence, and with an uncommonly quick perception of the grand and the beautiful. He is witty and understands a joke: his ideas are sometimes startling, sometimes very comical, he often makes us laugh. He is very fond of his mother, and altogether he cannot be a better boy than he is. Our son William—allow me, venerable grandfather, to place your grandchildren in a row before you—will be, unless I am mistaken, like his father, simple in his habits, honourable, and sensible, and very much like him also in personal appearance, but I do not think he will be quite so handsome. You see, dear father, that I am still in love with my husband. Our daughter Charlotte gives me great satisfaction. She is reserved and quiet, but she hides, like her father, a warm and sympathetic heart under a cold demeanour. She appears indifferent, but she really feels very much love and consideration for other people. Her manners are very pleasing, and my fancy pictures a brilliant future for her.* Charles is a happy, good-

* 'This Princess became Empress of Russia. Her biography has been written by the State Chancellor, Von Grimm, who shows her to have been anything but cold-hearted. She had deep feelings, but she wanted her mother's enchanting glance and winning manner.'

tempered boy, he develops both physically and intellectually. His unceasing questions puzzle me, for often I may not, or cannot, answer them: but this shows that he has an inquiring mind. He will go through life cheerfully without losing his interest in the weal or woe of others. Our daughter Alexandrine is, like girls of her age, affectionate and childish. She has a lively imagination and laughs very heartily; she catches anything that is comical, and is inclined to be satirical, but is very good-natured. Of the little Louisa as yet nothing can be said, except that she has her father's profile and eyes. I think her eyes are rather lighter than the King's.

'Now you have my whole gallery of family portraits before you, my dear father.* You will say they are painted by a foolish mother who sees nothing but good in her children, and is quite blind to their faults or failings. But really, I am watchful, and I do not observe in the children any dispositions or evil propensities which need make us painfully anxious. Like all children they have their little whims, but these will be corrected as they grow older and wiser.

'Circumstances educate people, and it may be well for our children that they learn to know the serious side of life in their youth. Had they been brought up in luxury they might think it was the natural course of things, that it must be so. But that it can be otherwise they now see when they look on their father's thoughtful face, and sometimes know that their mother is sad. My thoughts are constantly devoted to my children, and I daily pray to God that He will bless them, and will not take His good Spirit from them.

* Prince Albert was not born when this letter was written.

If God preserve them, He will preserve my best treasures, of which no one can deprive me.

'I remain, dearest father, your grateful daughter,

'LOUISA.'

Time has proved how justly this observant mother estimated the unfolding dispositions of her children. Berlin itself, its castle-church, the new museum with its galleries of art, and their wall paintings, bear testimony to Frederick William IV.'s uncommonly quick perception of the grand and beautiful. Everything designed by him is perfect, even to its most minute details.

Also the three words used by Queen Louisa to describe to his grandfather her second son, then eleven years old, were well-chosen words.—'Simple, honourable, and sensible.' 'The qualities named are those which still form the ground-work of his character.'*

Queen Louisa's youngest son, who received the name of Albert, was born on the 14th of October, 1809, the third anniversary of the calamitous battles of Jena and Auerstadt: she was seriously ill at the time of his birth. Both the King and Queen were impressed with a deep sense of parental responsibility. The Queen once wrote thus: 'Posterity will not place my name among those of celebrated women, but when people think on the troubles of these times they may say, "She suffered much and endured with patience," and I only wish they may be able to add—She gave birth to children who were worthy of better times, and who by

* *Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig, Prince Regent of Prussia, and his Times.* By Dr Julius Lasker. Berlin, 1860.

their strenuous endeavours have succeeded in attaining them.'

The father of those children made immediate and persevering efforts, and was now supported by able ministers and advisers who saw how all the capabilities of the nation could be called forth, and how they could be energized by infusing among the people a strong sense of duty, and that noblest kind of pride—the pride of adversity which lifts up the minds of men who know that they are bearing misfortune bravely.

No sooner did Frederick William recover full possession of his capital than he laid the foundation of the Berlin University, that centre of mental activity whence vital regenerating power proceeded, and where its various developments combined for united action. Both the universities of Berlin and Breslau were established under Hardenberg's ministry on liberal principles. From these seats of learning the enthusiasm of renovated Germany arose, springing up in unison with military ardour, which soon filled the ranks of the Volunteer corps admirably organized by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. We cannot over-estimate the value of the intellectual light so widely diffused over Germany through its schools and universities, provided we remember the fallibility and imperfection of human reason in our present state of existence. The intellectual, like the natural world has its zones and its meridian—would that every one who basks under its vertical sunshine could realize his actual position; then, while rejoicing, and thankfully working in the light, he would be thankful also for the shelter provided. Wonderful and incomprehensible is the gift of reason's light; and the instrument adapted to receive it, the human brain, is,

so far as we know, the masterpiece of creation. Yet one blow, even a stroke of the sun, may turn all its wisdom into foolishness, and leave the man no longer a rational being, but a ruined pillar, bearing an inscription which we cannot clearly decipher, but we know that it warns us not to lean on our own understandings. Where is the shelter, the safeguard most needed by those who live under the strongest intellectual light? The brief answer which best fits this wide question may be expressed in these few comprehensive words—religious habits of thought, word, and daily conduct. One of the most important is the habit of continually acknowledging our dependence on the Triune God, through all the vicissitudes of our chargeful lives, in the face of the world, and in spite of the scorner.

CHAPTER XII.

THE campaign in Austria lasted through the spring and summer of 1809. In the month of April the French defeated the Austrians five times, and advancing on Vienna took possession of the suburbs almost without opposition. A second time Napoleon bombarded that city. The French batteries were opposite the palace, when Napoleon was informed that the Archduchess Marie Louise was lying dangerously ill and could not be moved, he consequently ordered the direction of the guns to be altered. This was the first mark of attention bestowed on his future Empress.

Vienna capitulated on the 13th of May. The possession of the city was very important to Napoleon, as it gave him a fortified post on the Danube, amply provided with every kind of military store.

One of the many who suffered during the siege was Haydn, the celebrated musician. On the morning of the 16th of May, as the aged composer was being assisted to rise, some cannon-balls fell near the house, to the great alarm of his attendants. Haydn remained perfectly calm, he seemed to feel sure that he was safe, that he was not to die a violent death; he talked cheer-

fully to tranquillize the fears of those around him, and he played and sang his *Kaiser lied,* or Emperor's Hymn, just as he usually did every morning. Nevertheless, his powers were shaken by the stirring events. Two days afterwards he was attacked by sudden illness, and on the last day of May he closed his eyes in death. A more amiable and generous character than his is scarcely conceivable.

Napoleon appeared to be rapidly progressing towards the realization of his dream of universal dominion. He had subdued Italy, he had humbled the Pope, he had taken advantage of the disputes between Charles IV. of Spain and his son Ferdinand, to dispossess them both and place his own brother Joseph on the throne of that kingdom.*

The Emperor of France was indeed the sovereign ruler of Europe, but France was now only governed as

* Napoleon afterwards made this confession: 'It was that unhappy war in Spain which ruined me. The results proved that I was in the wrong. There were serious faults in the execution of the plan. One of the greatest was the having attached so much importance to the dethronement of the Bourbons. Charles IV. was worn out; I might have given a liberal constitution to the Spanish nation, and have charged Ferdinand with its execution. Could I have foreseen that that affair would have caused me so much vexation I would never have engaged in it. But after having taken the first steps it was impossible for me to recede. When I saw those imbeciles quarrelling, and trying to dethrone each other, I thought I might as well dispossess an inimical family, but I was not the contriver of their disputes.' *Las Casas*, vol. iv. pp. 204, 205.

Alison considers this assertion well founded. It is evident, he says, that the Royal family of Spain, fascinated by Napoleon's power and talents, threw themselves into his hands: it was a race between the father and the son which should first arrive at his head-quarters to state his case favourably to the supreme arbiter of their fate. Napoleon offered the crown of Spain to his brother Louis. That prince had wisdom enough to decline the tempting gift, which was then bestowed on Joseph Bonaparte. Alison's *History of Europe.* Fourth edition, vol. vi. pp. 612—619.

one simple province of a great empire. Far and wide the lion made people aware that he was not sleeping, and he marked with his claws some measure intended either to make his enemies tremble, or his subjects march on in the right road. From time to time he sent instructions to his diverse agents, but the only correspondence he kept up regularly and actively with the interior, when he was himself absent from the seat of government, was with Fouché. He imagined that through the instrumentality of that minister, he had reduced to submission the provoking antagonist called public spirit, which laughs impudently at the blows it receives. Irritated by the opposition he encountered in this pursuit, Napoleon struck right and left, attacking in turn the tribune, the press, the newspapers, the salons; but in spite of all his efforts he did not get hold on public opinion. The ironical Proteus was always there, always ready to start up and to receive his chimerical conceptions with an incredulous smile. After Pultusk and Eylau, his false bulletins deceived nobody in France, even the letters of the army have established that fact; and most people were aware that he fabricated reports, and then gave orders that they should be circulated.* He thus instructed Fouché: 'Cause the following news to be circulated, spread it first in the salons, and afterwards have it put in the journals.'† Writing to Crelet, he directed him to have songs made calculated to rekindle enthusiasm. 'You ought,' he said, 'to have three sets of songs made, that the soldiers may not always hear the same.'‡

* *Histoire de Napoléon* 1er. Par P. Lanfrey. Third edition. Paris, 1870.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. *Napoléon à Crelet*, 17me Sepre. 1808.

Napoleon required the whole French nation to be very demonstrative in its gratitude to the Grand Army; this he took care to signify to the Minister of the Interior. 'Harangues, poems, dinners and entertainments gratis, that is what I expect from the citizens, for the soldiers who come home victorious.'*

All this shows us that Napoleon found it no easy matter to mould the world to his will; that even during the period of his highest prosperity he must often have experienced the vexations of disappointment—that he may have felt mortifications sharper than those he inflicted on others, but which he concealed on the same false principle as that which impelled him to magnify his successes, great though they really were, and to hide his failures.†

The Emperor's brothers were not as submissive as he thought they ought to be, in return for the dignities he had conferred upon them. Louis Bonaparte did not choose to understand that he had been sent to Holland, above all, to assist in the war Napoleon was carrying on against England. As King of Holland he conscientiously took up the defence of that country

* Ibid. *Napoléon d'Crelet*, 3me Sepre. 1808.

† At St Helena Napoleon thus described his own reign. 'Throughout my whole reign I was the keystone of an edifice entirely new, and resting on the most slender foundations. Its duration depended on the issue of each of my battles. If I had been conquered at Marengo the disastrous times of 1814 and 1815 would immediately have come on. It was the same at Austerlitz, Jena, and other fields. The vulgar accuse my ambition of these wars; but they in truth arose out of the nature of those things, and that constant struggle between the past and present which gave me no other alternative than that of conquering or of being beaten down. I was never in truth master of my own movements. . . . . My ambition I admit was great, but it was cold-blooded, and caused by the opinion of the masses.' Las Casas, vi. 41; vii. 125.—Alison's *History of Europe*. Fourth edition, vol. vi. pp. 622, 623, note.

against the encroachments and exactions of the French Emperor.* Though not a man of transcendent genius, Louis had talents which might have been eminent, had he not through life been crushed down by the extraordinary self-will and pride of his brother. He possessed qualities which rendered him worthy of independence, consequently he could not endure the continually increasing weight of Napoleon's despotism. Moreover, the fruits of selfish ambition were constantly before his eyes, he observed their imperfections, and felt that they were not worth the sacrifices which most men are ready to make for the mere chance of obtaining them. Lucien Bonaparte also found the fraternal bondage insupportable, and at last he sought in England that freedom, for the loss of which all the grandeur and power of the brother whom his presence of mind had placed on the Consular Throne could afford no compensation.

With all its losses and sorrows, at that moment there were few Royal Families happier than that of Prussia. A King and Queen happy in each other—happy in their children—happy in possessing the confidence and affection of their people.

The citizens of Berlin had longed to shake off the iron hand of the conqueror which had so persistently held them down until after the Convention of Erfurth.†

In 1807, when the Queen's birthday approached, Napoleon had issued orders that the day was not to be

* *Life and Adventures of Count Beugnot, Minister of State under Napoleon I.* Edited from the French by Charlotte M. Yonge. Vol. ii. p. 319.

† Immediately after the Conference at Erfurth a formal treaty was concluded with Prussia. The arbiters of Europe reduced the conditions to writing, and in a short time the evacuation of the Prussian states, with the exception of the three retained fortresses, took place.—Alison. Fourth edition, vol. vi. p. 814.

observed by any kind of public demonstration, and the French authorities had declared their intention of strictly enforcing this mandate. The mournful silence of that day gave vivid colouring, living power to the memories of the past. The admirable and loveable qualities of the Queen, the abominable insults which had been cast upon her, were all the more dwelt upon because the people were not allowed to vent their loyalty in their own way. In the evening when Iffland, the celebrated tragic actor, appeared on the stage of the principal theatre, he came forward and drew from his bosom a bouquet which he showed to the audience in a very meaning way, then pressed it on his heart and again hid it from sight. The people understood Iffland's speechless acting, and applauded loudly, again and again, until the scene became exciting and uproarious. Iffland was arrested, imprisoned, and even threatened with death, but he gloried in the persecution, declaring that he thought himself happy in having the honour of suffering in Queen Louisa's cause.

At length the French troops took their final departure from Berlin; the burghers then felt free, and hoped that the King would soon return to his capital. The war raging in Austria caused delay, but eventually the return of the court was fixed for the 23rd of December, 1809. The good citizens of Berlin testified their joy by offering the Queen a very significant and at the same time useful present; a handsome carriage lined with lilac, her Majesty's favourite colour. In thanking them for this appropriate gift, the Queen wrote, 'The most gratifying demonstrations of loyal attachment have already been given to me during our long and painful separation, I accept this new

proof of regard with heart-felt gratitude and pleasure; and I am glad to think that the first use I shall make of this carriage will infinitely enhance its value. Accept as the representatives of the citizens of Berlin my warmest thanks, and be assured that the day which will restore me to the capital will ever afterwards be reckoned among the most important days of my life.'

With a chastened feeling of mingled joyfulness and sadness the Queen prepared to leave Königsberg. In her young days Louisa had once said in reply to a loyal address, 'The people's love is the sovereign's best pillow,' and when she needed rest she had found it so. She could not part from the true and kind inhabitants of the old city without some pangs of regret; and when she pictured to herself the changes she should see in Berlin, the very thought of them drew tears. The Queen not being strong, the journey was to be taken by easy stages. It was commenced on the 15th of December, as they intended to spend several days at Freyenwalde, where the King would receive deputations.

The entry into Berlin took place on the 23rd of December, on the anniversary of the day, and at the same hour on, which Louisa had entered as a bride sixteen years before. Instead of a sister, she had two daughters with her in the carriage, and her third son Prince Charles: the King rode with the generals. The welcome home is indescribable, because all the outward show, all the programme of the ceremonial, well as it was managed, was as nothing compared with the deep feeling of the moment: the bright and bitter recollections, the conflicting thankfulness and sorrow. Only the little children wondered when they saw tears on

the face of their beautiful Queen: the tears flowed more freely when she saw her father at the castle gates. The Duke of Mecklenburg took his beloved daughter from the carriage, folded her in his arms, led her into the palace, and the doors were closed. But the people knew that the many honoured members of their Royal Family who had been scattered by misfortune were now reunited, and it did them good to know it. A proud people holds up its sovereign family; and when that is worthy to be thus exalted, the nation feels itself both strengthened and elevated. Prussia had her inward satisfaction, her real and substantial grounds for thankfulness and hope, on that Christmas-eve, although Victory no longer held her reins and spread her wings over the Brandenburg Gate. Prussia was even then fighting a harder battle and achieving a conquest greater than that which was achieved at Rosbach. One of her brave sons had already declared that the battle of Jena was the first victory gained over Napoleon, for it annihilated the weakness which had allied itself with him, and excited that unanimous patriotic feeling in the hearts of all, which was sure at last to rise up and conquer.*

It chanced that Ernst Moritz Arndt came into Berlin on the same day that the King and Queen entered. He had performed, chiefly on foot, a long and weary journey under the bitter feeling which urges on a man who is pursued by his enemies. Napoleon's agents had watched Arndt, suspecting him of belonging to a secret society of patriots; and the order for his arrest had been issued. A friend who had become aware of his danger warned him, and he had hastily taken leave

* Heinrich Steffens, who affirmed that he always felt confident he should survive his country's degradation.

of his brother and sister, and of his son, who clung to him with childish grief at the thought of the separation. 'When I thrust the child from me,' said Arndt, 'I could almost have cursed the French, and the Corsican who ruled them.' By his brother's help he had got safely away from Trantow, and after some narrow escapes had arrived at the Prussian capital just in time to see the Royal procession. It was not a sight likely to afford him much gratification, but the unanimity evinced by all classes of people pleased him. 'These misfortunes,' he said, 'have had the good effect of uniting all hearts in one common German spirit.' Later in the day he mingled in the crowd which filled the broad walk under the linden trees, and the open space in front of the palace. There was a great deal of shouting and cheering for the King and Queen; loud and continued acclamations, 'but more eyes were wet with sorrow than were bright with joy.' When the Queen presented herself before the people in the balcony of the palace, Arndt could see traces of deep anguish on that lovely countenance, although the gladness of the welcome brightened it with fitful smiles. On that evening the city was illuminated, and by every means in their power the loyalty of the people was testified. The magistrates requested the King to appear at the National Theatre. 'Yes,' replied His Majesty, 'we will go there, but first we must go to the church;' and he ordered a national thanksgiving service, which accordingly was solemnized in the cathedral. Afterwards the King and Queen went to both the opera-house and the theatre. Iffland's gallant behaviour was not forgotten, and everybody was delighted to see marks of royal favour bestowed on the popular

actor, who received a gracious command to go to the Royal box that the Queen might personally thank him. Fouqué the poet, a descendant of French refugees, was at the theatre on that occasion. He wrote, 'I had the happiness of again seeing our Royal Family in the midst of us. The Queen sat beside her husband. As she conversed she often raised her eyes to the King with a very touching expression; had she, perhaps, already the presentiment that she would not long be the comforter, the consoling guide of the severely-tried monarch? I do not know; but when she bowed to the public, before leaving the house, as was at that time the custom, I could not help being struck by her expression, and I said to my friends as we were returning home, I had thought that Prussia could now give up all thoughts of war, and settle down to peaceful pursuits, as Frederick had done after the battle of Molwitz which he lost; but now I feel quite differently. Our beloved Queen has thanked us with tears—Bonaparte has dimmed those heavenly eyes, and I wish Prussia could gain a victory to brighten them. That may not be granted to us, but at all events we must do everything that can be done to make those eyes sparkle again.'

The very best means of doing this were immediately thought of by the citizens of Berlin, who well knew their King and Queen. Notwithstanding the losses that had been sustained, large sums of money were collected, that the poorest subjects might rejoice with the rest over their sovereign's return to his capital. The King on his part exercised his highest prerogative, his supreme regal power to pardon. He remitted all punishments for light offences, and set at liberty all

who were under sentence of imprisonment for less than a year. To the poor His Majesty gave five thousand dollars through the constituted authorities.

It was to commemorate the return of the Queen to Berlin that the inhabitants of the Thiergarten put up, on a small island in the ornamental water of that park, the simple monument sculptured by Schadow—a vase on a pedestal bearing a brief inscription. The Royal Family still shows its appreciation of the people's tribute of regard to Queen Louisa, by adorning it with flowers on the 10th of March. On that anniversary the vase is filled with choice exotics, and the little island is made a very bank of flowers. Those who now stand to look on *Luisen-insel* see at the same glance, in the grove beyond, the beautiful white marble statue of Frederick William III., erected in 1849 by the 'grateful inhabitants of Berlin.' This is also surrounded by a garden made very gay with sweet spring flowers, which is therefore a favourite promenade during that season.* But to return to A.D. 1810.

The birthday of the kingdom of Prussia could be again solemnized on the 18th of January in that year. The King augmented the Order of Merit in such proportion that it might embrace every class of his subjects, consequently the Festival of Orders was kept with unprecedented national rejoicing. Erman, the venerable clergyman who had boldly defended the Queen against Napoleon's unjust accusation, and Iffland the tragedian were among those who received decorations.

In the midst of festivity the King remembered the

* This fine statue is by Drake. The likeness is good and very pleasing—the King is represented in plain clothes, the sculpture on the pedestal is emblematical of the blessings of Peace.

need of economy which still existed. After defraying public expenses, he had reserved for his household only 24,000 dollars per annum.

Under these circumstances the King and Queen, with the children and their tutor, usually dined together on four dishes, and at supper they had but two. The whole country was impoverished, there was no ready money. Among even the better classes of people oak bark, carrots, and beans, all burnt together, were common substitutes for coffee, and sugar was hardly to be had at any price.* When one of the King's servants asked if a certain quantity of champagne should be ordered for His Majesty's table, he replied, 'Not yet. I would rather wait until all my subjects can drink beer again.'

Perhaps the Queen's spirits, naturally buoyant, might have rallied more completely, had she not at this time been sympathizing deeply with the heroes of the Tyrol. We have her opinion of Andrew Hofer, which she expressed in writing,—'What a man is Andrew Hofer, the leader of the Tyrolese. A peasant has become a captain, and what a captain! His weapon, prayer, his ally, God! He fights with clasped hands, fights on bended knees, and strikes as with the flaming sword of the cherubim. And the honest Swiss people, childlike in spirit, fight like giants with masses of rock which they roll down from their mountains. Oh, that the time of the Maid of Orleans might return, that the enemy might be driven back, as once the French with a maiden at their head drove their arch-

* See Letter of Mr F. J. Jackson to Mr George Jackson, vol. ii. p. 346, *Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson, K.C.H.* Bentley, London, 1873.

enemy from the land!' 'Ah! how many times I have read it over and over again!'*

Queen Louisa's hopes for the Tyrolese had been disappointed. After the battle of Wagram, when France and Austria had concluded a peace, the Tyrolese, at the earnest solicitation of the Archduke John, had consented to lay down their arms. Soon afterwards Hofer, deceived as to the strength of the band at his command, again raised his standard, but the spirit of the Tyrolese was broken, the men were scattered, and he could not rally them. Abandoning the enterprise in despair he hid himself among the mountains. Only his wife and a few trusted friends knew his place of refuge, and he would have been safe, protected by the rocks and the snow, had it not been for the treachery of a fellow-countryman in whom he had confided. This wretch betrayed Hofer; he was taken prisoner on the 30th of January, conveyed in chains to Botzen, and afterwards removed to Mantua, where he was shot in the morning of the 20th of February. This deed was done in obedience to an arbitrary command, not as an act of legal justice, for the military commission which had been assembled to try Hofer had not sentenced him to death.

Soon after the King's return to Berlin Hardenberg was recalled. He began his administration in February, 1810, and very soon his trenchant measures deprived both the nobles and the citizens of privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, and had grasped with exclusive tenacity. The exemption of the nobles from the payment of taxes, a remnant of mediæval custom, was completely abolished The old system of corporations and guilds was also

* Wilhelm Hennings. Wilhelm Baur.

done away with; and the free exercise of trade thrown open to every one. The latter change was taken great advantage of by the Jews, who entirely engrossed many branches of trades, consequently the citizens had even stronger grounds of complaint than the nobles. A great deal of ecclesiastical property was also confiscated for the payment of the national debt. These great and rapid changes occasioned much discontent, but did not disturb the loyal temper of the nation.

Bishop Eylert was especially delighted to welcome back the Royal Family, and the King and Queen were equally glad to see him. The spring was mild, which suited the Queen's health, and her over-strained mind seemed to recover tone, to become fresh and young again, when with her children she revisited Sans-Souci, Peacock Island, and Paretz. On her last visit to Paretz she greeted with tender recollections the tranquil scene of her early matrimonial happiness. It was on the 20th of May; there still exists a touching memorial of that day. The Queen occupied some of its fast fleeting moments in twining a wreath of oak leaves and flowers. The flowers have passed away, all but a shrivelled bell or two.

> 'No pain had they in dying, no shrinking from decay;
> Oh, could we but return to dust as easily as they.'

The leaves have lost their colour and almost all their substance, all but a few leather-like remains clinging to the skeleton forms. Yet the crumpled garland is beautiful, for besides reminding us of one whose memory is full of sweetness, those slight fibres, white and delicate as lace, lighted by the sun-beams which light this generation, show forth the perfection of the Creator's work more fully than our living leaves can

do: prove to us the infinite goodness and wisdom of that Eternal Power in which we must trust through the changing conditions of our endless lives: for who does not feel within himself that he cannot die like a leaf or a flower?

On that day Queen Louisa again sat in the cool grotto overlooking the Havel: years ago she had often sat there and read or played with her little children. The Queen was so reluctant to leave Paretz that she stayed till the moon was high and bright, and beneath its peaceful influence she walked arm in arm with her husband down the long avenue. She had asked the king to order the carriage round to the entrance near the hexagonal summer-house, and there she passed out of the grounds. Not long afterwards the bereaved husband locked that gate, and it has never been re-opened. The rusted iron and the rampant grass bear witness to the truth of this tradition.

Queen Louisa assured Bishop Eylert that she had read with great interest his lately published course of sermons appropriate to the time of trouble, especially those entitled 'Why did Jesus weep over Jerusalem?' and 'Have we reason to weep over our own city?' 'These discourses,' says the Bishop, 'with others on similar subjects, the Queen had read with her children, and she repeated to me some of the most striking passages which she had committed to memory. We once spoke together on deserved or undeserved chastening; the very humble view which the Queen took of the subject, the meek spirit in which she discussed it, and the sweet serenity of her manner, left a deep impression on my mind.' Nevertheless, in the ordinary converse of life the Queen had lost her gay

spirits; the King felt this, and watched her with the most affectionate tenderness. Now and then there would be a bound of sprightly imagination, a few sparks of pleasant wit, a hearty laugh with her playful children. On one of these occasions the King remarked with delight, 'The Queen is quite herself to-day: what a blessing it will be if her mind should recover its joyous tone; she used to be always light-hearted.' Hoping to bring back the gaiety which had made his life so cheerful, the King now rallied his beloved wife in his own good-natured, affectionate way. 'Nothing,' says the Bishop, 'could be more agreeable than the exchange of wit and pleasantry sometimes carried on between the royal pair, for it was always tempered on the part of the Queen with affectionate respect, and on that of the King with tender regard.'*

A fresh source of anxiety unfortunately arose in the dangerous illness of the Princess Louisa, and it was while the Queen was attending on the little invalid that she was herself seized with an attack of spasms at the heart. The sharp agony did not last long, but it proved to be, as it were, the beginning of the end. The child quickly recovered, and the Court then removed to Potsdam. Before the Queen left Berlin she received the Sacrament of the Holy Communion from her chaplain, the Prebendary Ribbech, in the church of St Nicholas. Many of the Queen's relations and others who loved her dearly, afterwards remembered the Holy Supper of that Easter-day as a farewell love-feast, for it was the last time they partook of it with Queen Louisa. At the moment no one entertained a melancholy presentiment, as the Queen had regained

* See Mrs Richardson's *Memoir of Queen Louisa*, 2nd edit. p. 269.

what had lately been her usual degree of health. The change to Potsdam seemed to have a very beneficial effect, her Majesty grew decidedly stronger, and the sweet face resumed a bright expression which made everybody hopeful.

During that spring of 1810 the subject uppermost in Queen Louisa's mind was the education of her sons. She had confidence in Bishop Eylert's judgment, and it is evident that she was thankful again to enjoy the advantage of daily intercourse with the good pastor. They often talked together on both principles and plans of education. The Bishop advised that the Crown Prince should be educated not only as the future king, but also with reference to his natural disposition. He said that self-government, upon which the true principle of governing others is founded, must be the work of education. Bishop Eylert thought that the heir to a throne was generally too much isolated; he recommended that four clever well-disposed boys should be sought, to be educated with the princes, and he suggested that the New Palace near Potsdam might be well adapted for this kind of education. Once when he had spoken very freely, he apologized to her Majesty, and hoped he had not offended. 'No, no,' said the Queen, with her own sweet smile; 'even if I do not agree with you entirely, I have heard you with pleasure, and I beg you to tell me all that is in your mind.'

The Queen dwelt with delight on the prospect of education becoming universally diffused by the Pestalozzian method. She wished to send the Bishop to Königsberg to examine into the progress the system was making there, in order, if it appeared successful,

that schools might be founded on that same principle throughout the kingdom. It was afterwards decided that Oberconsistorial-Rath Doctor Natorp should be sent on that mission.

The King and Queen bestowed a great deal of thought on the Berlin University which was now being founded. The King gave one of the handsome palaces at the top of the Linden, formerly occupied by the late Prince Henry, a brother of Frederick the Great, to the University. It contains lecture rooms and several museums. There are four departments in this Institution; the theological, the juridical, the medical, and the philosophical. Louisa enjoyed a bright anticipation of the intellectual progress of which that University was destined to be the centre. She often spoke of its future very hopefully, but she did not live to see the formal opening of the institution.

The Queen had been for some time past earnestly wishing to visit her father in his own capital. She had been disappointed of this pleasure in the summer of 1806, by the outburst of the war. It was now thought that the change might strengthen her health, and arrangements were accordingly made. When the Queen took leave of Bishop Eylert, she spoke of the sermons he had been preaching since Easter, expressing the interest she had felt in hearing them preached, and adding, that she hoped he would have them printed that she might read them on her return from Strelitz. Her Majesty commenced the journey from Charlottenburg on the morning of the 25th of June. The King did not accompany her, but was to follow in the course of a few days. Again Louisa saw Oranienburg, the palace she had received as a birthday gift

from the late king, a home connected with many pleasant recollections.

Thence she proceeded to Furstenburg, the first town within the Duke of Mecklenburg's dominions; and there she found her father, her sister Frederica, and both her brothers, waiting her arrival. The meeting was a very affectionate one, but though happy it was agitating to a person in weak health. The Queen was overcome by her emotion, and it was afterwards said that she appeared to feel a presentiment of evil. Probably that idea would never have occurred to any one had not subsequent events called it into existence. Queen Louisa was very warmly welcomed by her father's subjects, who came out in crowds to see the Queen of Prussia, and greeted her with loud acclamations. A two hours' drive in an open carriage brought her to the door of the Duke's Palace, where she was tenderly embraced by her aged grandmother, whom she had not seen for years.

As the Queen wished to spend her time quietly with her family, only one day was appointed for a public reception. A court was held on the 27th, when every one who had the honour of being presented to the Queen was charmed by her pleasing appearance and gracious manners. Having parted with her more valuable jewels, she wore pearls, which were always becoming to her. In reply to a remark made on them she said: 'Pearls are suitable to me, for they signify tears, and I have shed many;' and on that evening she showed the King's miniature, saying that it was an excellent likeness, and her most precious treasure.

On the following day, when the King arrived, a crowd of people had assembled to see him, which the

Queen noticed, and it seemed to please her. She made the King observe the pleasant surroundings of the castle, and she led him on to the balcony that he might see the view over the park.

Her Majesty stepped out with the most radiant expression on her countenance, and seemed to present her husband to the people as her joy and pride. She was evidently delighted at seeing him her father's guest, and in finding herself, for the first time, in Mecklenburg with all her own relations.

Later in the day the Queen was sitting with her brother George in the Duke's private room, the rest of the party having gone to see the chapel of the Palace. Louisa was sitting at her father's writing-table; she took up a pen and wrote the following sentence—

'Mon cher père,

'Je suis bien heureuse aujourd'hui comme votre fille, et comme l'épouse du meilleur des époux!

'LOUISE.

'*Neu-Strelitz, ce* 28 *Juin*, 1810.'

These were the last words she ever wrote: and the paper is kept as a family relic. That very evening the Queen felt unwell, but she went with the family and Court to Hohenzieritz. It had been arranged that they should go there, as the King preferred the country, and it was also thought better for the Queen to be resting in retirement. Her Majesty appeared to be suffering from a feverish cold. From this, however, she so far recovered, that the King, whose presence was required at Berlin, left her, intending to return in a few days. The Queen rallied so much that anxiety

was greatly relieved. When Her Majesty awoke on the morning of Monday the 16th, she seemed comfortable, and, with all the rest of the world, she was interested in the fate of Louis Napoleon, and asked for the newspaper. While she was listening to a full account of the King of Holland's abdication, she was seized with an attack of spasms, which became fearfully violent and lasted five hours, though every possible means was tried to procure relief. Throughout that long protracted agony, she could only gasp out faintly 'Air—air.' When at length the attack was subdued she was utterly exhausted. 'I thought my end was near,' were her first words. Those who were attending on her felt that her life must be in danger, and the physicians then discovered the existence of organic disease of the heart. The Duke was informed of this, and the King was immediately sent for.

The Queen never lost her patience in the midst of the most excruciating agony, and with a childlike piety she thanked God for every temporary alleviation of her suffering. When free from pain she was very tranquil, lay looking like an angel, and now and then repeating to herself a few words of a very simple hymn which she had learnt in her childhood. The only thing that seemed to disturb her was a fear lest her grandmother should over-exert herself in attending upon her. The extraordinary weariness caused by the pain and weakness was, she said, indescribable; and once when she vainly attempted to alter the position in which she was lying, she said, 'I am a Queen, but I have not power to move my arms.' She longed to see the King, and was glad to hear that he was coming sooner than she had expected.

Towards midnight between the Wednesday and Thursday the oppression on the chest returned; fever and thirst raged, she desired constantly to drink, and continued to groan feebly. Her sister asked if she felt in pain. 'Ah no,' was the gentle answer; 'I am only very, very weary, and when the spasms come I feel as if I should lose breath entirely.' About two o'clock the thought of death occurred to her. 'Oh what will my husband and children do if I should die?' she said. At three o'clock the Duke was called. On being told that the Queen was in immediate danger the aged father exclaimed in a supplicatory manner, 'Lord, Thy ways are not our ways.' About an hour later the King arrived with his two elder sons. He immediately spoke with the physicians, who gave him no hope. The Princess George, seeing how terribly he felt the shock, suggested that as long as life remained there was hope. 'Oh,' said Frederick William, in the agony of his grief, 'if she were not mine she might recover.' The physician announced to his patient the arrival of her husband. The dying face was lighted with a gleam of joy—the last joy that Louisa was to experience on earth. The King went into her room, striving to command his feelings, but the Queen observing his agitation said, 'Am I then so very ill?' He left the room for a few minutes, and she then remarked, 'The King seems as if he wished to take leave of me; tell him not to do so, or I shall die directly.'

Louisa spoke of her children, and the princes were called; the King brought them in. 'My Fritz, my William,' said the dying mother, as she gazed on them with her eyes full of affection. She tried to speak to

them, the effort was too great, and the spasms returned. The princes were taken out of the room, but the King remained. The physicians were summoned, Heim, Hieronymi, and Göricke; they tried every remedy, but the spasms increased in violence. One of the doctors advised the Queen to stretch out her arms and lie higher; 'I cannot,' was the answer. He supported her in the attempt to move, but she sank down again, saying, 'Nothing but death can help me.'

The King sat on her bed-side, he had taken the Queen's right hand, her sister Frederica held her left hand. Frau Von Berg supported her, and the physicians stood round the bed. While they watched in breathless silence, Louisa gently drew back her head and leant it on the shoulder of her faithful attendant—she closed her eyes, and a few moments after distinctly said, 'Lord Jesus, make it short.' Five minutes later her sufferings were over. She drew a long breath, and with this last deep sigh mortal life was extinguished, and the spirit was free.

The King had sunk down overpowered with grief; he roused himself and closed the eyes now fixed in death, but they all remembered that the last glance had been that sweet, clear glance, peculiarly her own, that seemed to come from the depths of her soul. The King gazed on her for a moment with a look of anguish which wrung the hearts of all who witnessed it; then he left the room, but soon returned with his sons. The countenance was beautiful in death, particularly the brow; and the calm expression of the mouth told that struggle was for ever past.

About half an hour after the Queen's decease the Princess Charlotte and Prince Charles arrived, hoping

to find their mother still alive. In the deepest grief they knelt beside her lifeless form, seeking strength to bear this, their first great sorrow. All their young hearts turned to their father, feeling that their consolation must be derived through their endeavours to comfort him.

The gentle resignation of the Princess George was an example to all; she had not expected to survive her beloved Louisa. During the early stage of her illness the Queen, when she was free from pain, had cheered herself by talking with her grandmother about her happy childhood; recollecting trifling incidents, and reviving the joy that springs from simple pleasures.

On the afternoon of the following day the King and his children left Hohenzieritz; the body was removed on the 25th, exactly a month from the day on which the Queen had been received at Strelitz with flags and flowers and joyful acclamations of welcome. At the dark pine forest on the frontier a Prussian escort received the mortal remains, which were accompanied by Prince Charles Frederick Augustus of Mecklenburg, the Queen's half-brother. As the melancholy procession passed through Berlin the people expressed the deepest grief. The lamentation was universal. Every family felt as if it had lost one of its own members.

The body lay in state until the 30th. On that day the funeral, which was attended by all the members of the Royal Family, took place in the cathedral. Even little Prince Albert was carried in his nurse's arms. The coffin was deposited in the sacristy, where it rested whilst a mausoleum was being prepared to receive it.

In the thick plantation behind the castle at Charlottenburg there had stood a temple, or summer-house,

as we should call it, built in the Grecian style of architecture. The Queen had liked that secluded spot, and when residing there had habitually frequented it to enjoy quiet recreation and refreshment with her husband and children. To the King that temple and its site now seemed sacred to the memory of the departed. He had the little edifice removed to Peacock Island, and on the spot where it had stood he raised another, somewhat similar in style but far superior in construction, and built of rare and durable materials. A flight of eight steps leads up through the iron door to the interior of the mausoleum; the exterior is of red granite, four highly polished Doric pillars support the entablature. The Alpha and Omega (A Ω) on the façade of the triangular pediment remind us of Him who holds the spirits of the departed in safe keeping:—

'*I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.*' See Rev. i. 8, 18.

To this last abode the remains of Queen Louisa were conveyed on the 23rd of December. It was exactly one year since she had returned to Berlin after the calamities of war, and seventeen years since she entered the Prussian capital as a bride. The sepulchral edifice terminates a path on which sunbeams and shadows cast their checkered shade, for the dark grove or wood of larch trees which forms the enclosing avenue, though thickly planted, cannot exclude the light of day or even the moonshine of night. The small building, simply constructed and so secluded, is sheltered on all sides by trees,—pines and larches, yews and cypresses; and among them some which annually shed

their leaves to tell of peace in decay, of hope in death, of joy in resurrection.

The exquisitely beautiful monument of Queen Louisa within the mausoleum is by Rauch—to him it was a labour of love; he worked on it for more than two years with a heart full of gratitude; for he was one of the many whom Queen Louisa had befriended. Her royal munificence had helped to bring out his uncommon talent. The recumbent figure wonderfully expresses all that is pure and lovely in womanhood, all that is noble in queenly dignity, and all that the heart of man can conceive of the blessedness of 'them that sleep in Jesus.'*

The King for a time shut himself up with his children, and seemed to think only of them, or at least to give them every thought which was not bestowed on the departed one. But Frederick William, being a conscientious man, struggled with himself until he had conquered all that is selfish in sorrow. Arndt gives a touching description of the King's peculiar grief, of the quiet simple look and gesture which showed that he never forgot his loss, that the idea was ever present with him that his Queen, his beloved Louisa, had been snatched away from him by the tumult and misfortunes of the times—that the struggle with Napoleon had killed her. In his grief he undervalued her heart-sustaining faith, forgot her fortitude; and, confirmed in that impression by poets and enthusiasts, he subsequently fought against the Emperor, thinking not only of his kingdom, but also of his Louisa's honour. In 1814 the King instituted the Order of the Iron Cross on the late Queen's birthday, and the Order of

* See Appendix. Note 2.

Louisa on his own natal day in the same year. On founding the latter, His Majesty said, 'Our women, inspired with the noblest courage, have cheerfully yielded their husbands and sons for the defence of the fatherland. By their soothing care the sufferings of the sick and wounded have been alleviated, their sympathy has given consolation and support. Therefore we have determined to do honour to the female sex, and to testify our high esteem for noble women by creating an Order to be worn by them.'*

The insignia of the Order is a golden cross with the letter L in black enamel on an azure ground; the letter being encircled by stars. On the back of the cross are engraved the dates 1813 and 1814. Like the iron cross, it is worn with a white ribbon, and fastened with a bow on the left breast. Maidens and matrons are alike eligible for this distinction, the number is limited to one hundred.

This Order, like that of the Iron Cross, is open to all classes. The obligation lies on the committee to collect the fullest possible account of the most devoted services done by women throughout the whole kingdom of Prussia, and after thorough examination, to choose the worthiest and present them to the King.

Four years after Queen Louisa was laid to rest, Frederick William returned victorious from the field of Leipsic. First he hastened to Berlin to meet his people in the Cathedral, to join his voice with that of the nation in public thanksgiving to Almighty God. Then, secretly and alone, he visited the tomb at Charlottenburg, strewed his flowers and placed his laurel wreath on the cold marble. The features, so wonder-

* The King's speech as translated by Mrs Richardson.

fully like those of his Louisa, could give him no response. He felt that in prosperity, as in adversity, he must thirst for sympathy till called to awake up in the likeness of the Perfect One—and 'be satisfied.'

Queen Louisa's memory was honoured and cherished, not only in the Rroyal Family, but also by the whole nation. Her name became a watchword with the patriot, because her death was generally ascribed to the sufferings she had so patiently endured, and her deep enthusiastic love of the fatherland could not be forgotten.

'The Queen,' says Baur, 'remained after her death the heroine of a struggle which, far from having ceased, was only strengthening itself for the first favourable moment. In her, Germany saw its best self personified; love of liberty and country, pleasure in domestic and family life, taste for poetry, and pious gratitude for all the gifts of God; and in her fate the nation saw its own.' *

Louisa's comprehensive intellect and the full power of sympathy which was part of her nature, had led her to take hearty interest in many subjects. She had listened reverently to the serious discourses of Bishops Sack, Eylert, Borowsky, and other divines; she had enjoyed the society of gifted persons; she had loved poetry, and encouraged poets and artists. It is not surprising that when the nation mourned its loss, many voices were raised, many lyres were tuned in praise of the departed Queen. Theodore Körner's tribute to the memory of the German-hearted Queen, entitled 'A Good Angel for a Good Cause,' is one of the best of the poems. Stein's brief comment on the

* *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Vol. i. p. 100.

loss is full of meaning, 'A cord formed of affection, beauty, and goodness has been broken asunder.'

The King wished to possess all kinds of likenesses of the Queen, busts and portraits of every size and style. Schadow's are particularly good; but a few words spoken by that sculptor to a person who was admiring the Queen's bust, tell us more than the chisel can express. He said, 'I remember Berlin before Queen Louisa came; and when I reflect on the happy changes we owe to her, comparing the past with the present, I can hardly believe I am living in the same world.'

ON THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA'S TOMB.

BY FELICIA HEMANS.

It stands where northern willows weep,
A temple fair and lone;
Soft shadows o'er its marble sweep,
From cypress branches thrown;
While silently around it spread,
Thou feel'st the presence of the dead.

And what within is richly shrined?
A sculptured woman's form,
Lovely, in perfect rest reclined,
As one beyond the storm:
Yet not of death, but slumber, lies
The solemn sweetness of those eyes.

The folded hands, the calm pure face,
The mantle's quiet flow,
The gentle yet majestic grace
Throned on the matron brow;
These, in that scene of tender gloom
With a still glory, robe the tomb.

There stands an eagle, at the feet
Of the fair image wrought;
A kingly emblem—not unmeet
To wake yet deeper thought;
She whose high heart finds rest below
Was royal in her birth and woe.

There are pale garlands hung above,
Of dying scent and hue;
She was a mother—in her love
How sorrowfully true!
Oh! hallowed long be every leaf,
The record of her children's grief:

She saw their birthright's warrior-crown
Of olden glory spoiled,
The standard of their sires borne down,
The shield's bright blazon soiled:
She met the tempest meekly brave,
Then turned o'erwearied to the grave.

She slumbered, but it came—it came,
Her land's redeeming hour,
With the glad shout, and signal flame
Sent on from tower to tower.
Fast through the realm a spirit moved—
'Twas hers, the lofty and the loved!

Then was her name a note that rung
To rouse bold hearts from sleep;
Her memory, as a banner flung
Forth by the Baltic deep;
Her grief, a bitter vial poured
To sanctify the avenger's sword.

And the crowned eagle spread again
Her pinion to the sun;
And the strong land shook off its chain—
So was the triumph won!
But woe for earth, where sorrow's tone
Still blends with victory's—*She* was gone.

CHAPTER XIII.

FREDERICK WILLIAM III. desired to connect the memory of his deceased Queen with works of Christian love, on which her name could be bestowed. The King consulted Bishop Eylert, plans were discussed, and ultimately two institutions were founded, the *Louisen-Denkmal*, and the *Louisen-Stiftung*. The *Denkmal*, or memorial, was designed to commemorate the matrimonial happiness which the King and Queen had enjoyed. A fund was set apart which furnished 300 dollars a year to be divided between three bridal couples. This royal bounty was given every year on the 19th of July at nine o'clock in the morning, the day and hour of Queen Louisa's death. Great care was taken to secure the selection of the most deserving happy couples.

The *Louisen-Stiftung*, or Louisa's institution, was a work of far wider scope. It was, in fact, founded on Queen Louisa's own desire expressed to the King on their return from St Petersburg, where she had seen the institution founded by the Empress Dowager of Russia, for the benefit of ladies in reduced circumstances; those among them who were still young were educated as governesses.

Princess William was the chief patroness and active supporter of this institution. Also when the King founded the Order of Louisa, he placed that Princess at its head. Good works commended themselves to her for their own sakes, or rather for the sake of the Author of all goodness, but she felt consoled and gratified in taking up the duties from which Queen Louisa had been called away. The Princess's deep love for the departed one is expressed with characteristic simplicity in the following passage in one of her letters to Baron Von Stein: 'It is impossible to explain everything in writing, but I should so much like to tell you how all the pleasantness of life is over for me now she is gone. She was so unspeakably kind and sisterly to me that I miss her every moment and in every fresh event. . . . The King is worthy of all reverence in this sorrow, he shows so much Christian resignation and patience; he is so kind to me that I can scarcely look at him without tears.' *

Prince and Princess William bore up heroically through the last great struggle with Napoleon. The Prince distinguished himself by his undaunted courage: the Princess bore the separation from her husband, the death of a brother on the battle-field, and the loss of a child, with quiet fortitude. She occupied herself with all kinds of useful works which came within her sphere, and with attending to the sick, wounded, and bereaved. Princess William, while her husband was fighting in the battle of Waterloo, gave birth to a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth. This Princess in due time married Prince Charles, second

* *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Vol. i. p. 120. London, Strahan & Co.

son of Louis II., Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, brother and heir of the now reigning Grand Duke Louis III. The Prince and Princess Charles reside at Darmstadt, they are the parents of three sons, the eldest of whom is Prince Louis. They had one beloved daughter, Princess Anna, who died shortly after her marriage to a Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

In the year 1810 the English government prepared to send a large army to the north coast of Germany to fight against Napoleon. The Prussian patriots watched this movement with the deepest possible interest. Baron Von Stein expressed the wish that every one who could bear arms in North Germany, should, under the command of a German Prince, join the English army. Stein also desired to see the states of North Germany bound together in an alliance under the protection of the Emperor of Austria, that it might not be a lawless rising. He thought that such a coalition should be formed for the deliverance of the country from a foreign yoke, and for the abolition of the Confederation of the Rhine. While the great statesman was living in retirement under proscription, he had his correspondents in Prussia, Austria, and Westphalia, and he found means of promoting the one object which he ever kept in view, that of awakening a free spirit, yet one willing to submit to the control of religion, and to be guided by the rules of common sense.

The aspect of European affairs continued very dark for a wearying length of time, but at last, events took a turn which let in gleams of hope. Then Stein was suddenly called by the Emperor of Russia to come forward again on the arena of public life.

Circumstances, mainly arising out of Napoleon's head-

strong self-will, had altered the position and feelings of the Czar, consequently Alexander's views had changed. He was looking forward, not to peaceful demonstrations of chivalrous friendship, but to war which he was determined to carry on, *à outrance*, till the conflict was completely terminated.

Napoleon, though still apparently increasing in power, and certainly swelling with pride, had unconsciously injured himself by madly pursuing one aim of revengeful ambition with his characteristic want of moderation. Looking upon Great Britain as the arch-enemy of France, he excommunicated her from all international privileges; deprived her of every commercial advantage. Not satisfied with closing the French ports against her, he required his allies to close their ports also against British merchant vessels. There were sovereign princes who felt that this stern sentence against a sister kingdom was unjust—that the arbitrary command was oppressively domineering—that its effects would be detrimental to the commercial interests of their own people. Two of the sovereigns of Europe were brave and free-spirited enough to resist Napoleon's will. Louis Bonaparte had long writhed under his brother's tyranny, and when it was intimated to him that he must relinquish all intercourse, direct or indirect, with England, he resolved on resigning the crown of Holland.* Neither would the Emperor of

* See Alison's *History of Europe*. Third edition, vol. vii. pp. 845, 847.

'The resignation of Louis was the source of great distress to Napoleon; but it was soon followed by an event which still more nearly affected him, an irreconcilable rupture with his brother Lucien. That Prince refused to follow his brother's example by divorcing his wife, an excellent American lady, to receive another suggested by the political views of the Emperor. Lucien withdrew to Rome, where he lived in privacy, devoted to poetry and the arts. When the Roman States were incorporated with the French

Russia submit to be thus dictated to, and forced to adopt an ungenerous line of policy.' The cabinet of St James's obtained influence over that of St Petersburg, and finally war was declared between France and Russia.

Alexander immediately thought of Von Stein, sent a messenger to him at Prague, and invited him to come to Russia to aid him with his advice. Stein, fired with the desire for action, did not delay a moment, and arrived at the Emperor's head-quarters at Wilna on the 12th of June, 1812. He would not enter the Russian service, he did not covet Russian honours, but he was willing to put forth all his energies and to use his judgment as the Emperor's personal friend. Stein foresaw that a victorious Russian army might pursue the enemy to Germany. To meet this possible emergency, he laboured at the formation of a German legion; which was to be commanded by Prussian officers who had gone to Russia, because they were, like himself, too patriotic to live in their own country under Napoleonic despotism. This legion was to be the rallying point, the refuge for German-born deserters from Napoleon's standards. There were no fewer than 150,000 Germans fighting for Napoleon,—20,000 Prussians, bound to him by the Confederation of the Rhine, or by the cession of those provinces which lately belonged to the kingdom of Prussia. Von Stein and many others looked upon these bonds as unnatural, and felt that the sons of Germany were degraded by being compelled to

Empire Lucien Bonaparte attempted to fly to the United States of America, but was taken prisoner on the sea by the English, who conveyed him to Malta. He afterwards obtained permission to reside in England, where he lived very quietly near Ludlow, in Shropshire, amusing himself with literary pursuits.'—Ibid., p. 848.

march under the banners of France; and that those who did so willingly were shamefully wanting in patriotism.

At this juncture of international affairs, Ernst Moritz Arndt could not rest quietly. He set off for Russia, travelling in his usual simple way, partly on foot, and by various conveyances. On arriving at an hotel in St Petersburg, to his astonishment, he found that he was expected, and that a room had been prepared for his reception. Baron Von Stein had written requesting him to come and appointing a meeting at St Petersburg. This letter had not reached Arndt, as he had started before it could do so. These two men were mutually attracted to each other:—thus the patrician and the plebeian patriot bound themselves together, interweaving diverse powers and gifts and strong opinions to co-operate for the liberation of their country.

Arndt has given a pleasing description of his first interview with the famous minister, who at once made an agreeable impression on his mind, because he fancied he could perceive a likeness to his dear old friend Fichte.

The Baron was getting grey and stooping a little, but had still the brightest of eyes—brown eyes full of vivacity and feeling. His manner was so easy as to make Arndt immediately feel that he was speaking with a friend; and Stein acknowledged that he had perused some of Arndt's writings, which had drawn him towards the author.

Von Stein made an engagement with Arndt, who undertook to be his secretary, on a salary which was to be paid by the Russian government. 'He explained

to me,' says Arndt, 'the position I was to hold under him, though he never made me feel subordinate. He avoided speaking of his own position with respect to the Emperor of Russia, merely saying, "You know what my object here is as well as you know your own which has led you so far eastward." He then gave me necessary instructions, and spoke of the persons with whom I should have to transact business.' Arndt was afterward introduced to most of the numerous Prussian refugees then living in or near St Petersburg.

The German Legion was being formed and organized, the matter had just been set on foot, and the furthering and conducting it was the chief business entrusted to Arndt, into which he entered with all his heart and soul. His enthusiasm inspired him to write patriotic hymns and stirring war-songs; he felt assured, and he led others to hope, that the ranks of the corps would soon be filled by German deserters from Napoleon's army.

Arndt had arrived in St Petersburg late in the month of August, 1812, but before the end of that year his catechism for German soldiers was printed and circulated. Although the teaching of this extraordinary work was not perfectly unobjectionable, yet, as it was written in a God-fearing spirit, it tended greatly to elevate the aims and to improve the morals of the soldiers who learnt it by heart.*

* 'A catechism for Germany's soldiers and defenders, wherein is set forth how a warrior should be a Christian man, and go to battle having God on his side.'

'This catechism instructs the Christian soldier on the following subjects: The great Tyrant—Trust in God—Justifiable and unjustifiable War—Unity—Freedom—Soldier's Honour—Love of the Fatherland—Self-restraint and Self-sacrifice.'

Arndt had found the whole Russian nation, from the Czar to the peasant, from the Princess to the humblest woman, animated by a devout and self-sacrificing enthusiasm.' * In his third part of *The Spirit of the Age*, he says, 'The Russians are a devout people; they made this mighty war a religious war. The churches, the chapels, the burial-places were daily thronged with people; the soldiers consecrated themselves by prayer, they signed themselves with the cross, they consecrated their banners with religious ceremonies; they took a solemn oath to the Emperor and their country, and went forth rejoicing as to a triumphal procession.'

It was at this time and under these impressions that Arndt conceived the ideas expressed in his famous song, 'The German's Fatherland,' which he composed for the German Legion. He wrote it in the hope that it also might find its way among the hosts of Germans included in the great French army engaging in the Russian war. Arndt knew that they would be little cared for, and exposed to extraordinary hardships during that campaign: but the sufferings that were actually endured surpassed all that could have been imagined.

Driven out from Moscow, the city which was to have been their winter-quarters, by billows of fire—mountains of red rolling flames—driven out into the snow, exposed to excessive frost, Napoleon's grand army melted away. Of the 500,000 Frenchmen who had entered Russia since June, only about 20,000 effected the retreat and safely crossed the Niemen. Owing to the mortality among the horses, the cavalry fearfully diminished. Several corps of dismounted horsemen

* *Religious Life in Germany.* By William Baur. Vol. i. pp. 249, 250.

were formed, but order could not be maintained. Confusion spread along the line of march, as at every stage trains of artillery, rich booty, and at last tents and other necessaries, were abandoned. In the midst of general disorganization, recklessness, and despair, the Guard alone preserved its ranks and discipline.

The German Legion closely pursued the flying enemy. Arndt gives an appalling description of the miseries he witnessed, of the dead men and horses stiffening in the snow, of the sufferings of those who still lingered. Day after day thousands laid down their arms and were made prisoners. The Germans could scarcely help feeling that 'God was on their side,' for such an early and severe winter had not been known within the memory of man. It was while they were on this homeward march, that for the first time they sang their new song in full chorus as they rested round their watchfires:—

'What is the German's Fatherland?
The Prussian land?—The Swabian land?
Where Rhine's thick-clustering fruitage gleams?
Where on the Belt the sea-mew screams?
Not these the land;
His is a wider Fatherland.

'What is the German's Fatherland?
Bavarian or Westphalian land?
Where o'er the Dunes the wild sand blows?
Or where the Danube brawling flows?
Not these the land;
His is a wider Fatherland.

'What is the German's Fatherland?
Name, name, I pray, this mighty land.
Is't Tyrol, or the land of Tell?
The land and people pleased me well:
Not these the land;
His is a wider Fatherland.

'What is the German's Fatherland?
Name, name, I pray, this mighty land.
The subject realms of Austria's crown,
The land of triumphs and renown?
Not these the land;
His is a wider Fatherland.

'What is the German's Fatherland?
O name at length this mighty land.
As wide as sounds the German tongue,
And German hymns to God are sung,
That is the land;
That, German, name thy Fatherland.

'That is the German's Fatherland,
Where faith is pledged by grasp of hand,
Where truth darts bright from flashing eyes,
And love in hearts warm nestling lies:
That is the land;
That, German, name thy Fatherland.

'To us this glorious land is given;
O Lord of Hosts! look down from Heaven,
And grant us German loyalty
To love our country faithfully;
To love our land,
Our undivided Fatherland.' *

The words of this song were not inappropriate, for the Legion included men born and bred in many lands,

* This translation of the famous song is taken from Markham's *History of Germany*.—The edition published in 1847. John Murray, London.

The feeling of the expatriated German towards his Fatherland must in most cases differ from the Englishman's sentiment. Germany has no colonies; her emigrants go forth to toil and to live on the soil or in the cities of other countries. Under the influence of love for their common Fatherland they fraternize warmly, but the sympathies of the relationship are somewhat different from those which unite British emigrants settled in the distant colonies of our empire. Consequently it is scarcely possible for us to enter fully into the feeling with which a German sings 'Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?'

who, expatriated by Napoleon, had fraternized with the Germans. Arndt himself was by birth a Swede.

After the peace Arndt lived for two years a restless life, unable to decide on his plans for the future. He then married the half-sister of his friend Frederick Schleiermacher, and settled at Bonn. He obtained an appointment in the newly-founded university there, and for a time was quiet and prosperous, until he had published the fourth part of his *Spirit of the Age*. That work greatly displeased the Prussian government, and brought its author into trouble, as his political opinions were considered unsound, and he was forbidden to teach in the university. He held strong opinions, and the exciting circumstances which had strengthened them had also led him into the habit of expressing them in violent language. Persons in authority who considered his principles and opinions dangerous, acted conscientiously in not permitting him to inculcate them on the impressible minds of the young. Arndt felt the disappointment keenly, although the King took care that the privation should not be attended with any pecuniary loss.

Baron Von Stein consoled Arndt by bidding him 'Trust in God, and in a just and noble king. Address yourself,' said he, 'to the one in prayer, and to the other with representations of the truth.' Arndt was often with Von Stein when the latter, having been struck by paralysis, was sinking in mortal weakness, but rising into a fuller development of spiritual life. 'How beautiful it is here,' said he, as looking round on the hills and on the smiling valley, he rested on the bridge that spans the Lahn at Nassau. Near that point, the river runs between the conspicuous wooded height on which

stand the ruins of Stein Castle, the feudal stronghold of the Baron's ancestors, and the quaint, peaceful country town. Among its scattered groups of houses he could discern the home from which he had once been driven forth as a banished outlaw, to which he had returned with grateful joy. He could see a gable of the old house, and its new tower which he had built to commemorate the triumphant years 1814-15, and to contain historical memorials. They were almost hidden by the ancestral trees, that quite concealed the bright flowers and the green lawn with its venerable dial: a sun-dial which had stood before successive generations of men, and had seen them cut down like the grass—for 'surely the people is grass.' Constantly has the dial turned its face to the sky, and often, very often, has it received the light in all its fulness. And yet, the sun still marks upon its tablet the hours of human life, not with a dazzling beam, but with a shadow, caused by the interception of light. 'How beautiful it is here,' said Von Stein, as he lent his wearied, worn-out frame upon the railing of the bridge; 'how much more beautiful it must be above! "Rejoice with me that I am so near the goal."'

Arndt and Stein took leave of each other, trusting that they should 'meet again on the other side,' as the dying man expressed it. He had another paralytic attack in the spring of 1831, and died at the end of June.*

* A little below the hoary ruin of Stein Castle, on a beautifully wooded shelf of the mountain which it marks, there now stands a fine monument, somewhat in the style of Sir Walter Scott's at Edinburgh. The pale-red stone and white marble are thrown out conspicuously by Nature's dark back-ground. It is a national tribute to the memory of Heinrich Karl Friedrich Von Stein. In 1872 the statue was unveiled in the presence of the Emperor of Germany, the Crown Prince, and an immense assembly.

When Frederick William IV. came to the throne he caused Arndt's case to be more thoroughly investigated. He was fully acquitted and re-instated at Bonn, where he was enthusiastically received by the students, and immediately elected rector, or head of the university. He was then seventy, but his life was spared for another twenty years.

The long last period was blessed to himself, and to the many who reverently and affectionately looked on Father Arndt as an example and guide. In that happy, healthful old age the best characteristics of the boy, the youth, and the man, having been fused together by fiery trials, formed an uncommonly substantial as well as shining character. Bright in the mild light of that tranquil season, under peaceful influences which subdued anger and restlessness, softened asperities, smoothed sharp points, and rounded angles, nothing remained but the characteristics of the Christian patriot.

Arndt built himself a substantial house on the banks of the Rhine. True to his love of poetry, he composed an inscription, and fixed it above the door of entrance from Coblenzer-strasse. It may be thus translated:—

This house is in God's hands. May the best peace, the peace of God, be with those who dwell within it: and may this door ever readily be opened to give others rest and peace.

Arndt was always hospitable and cheerful. English travellers were often numbered among those who were entertained in this pleasant home, which overlooked the broad river as it flows down from Königswinter to Bonn. His garden, which he helped to cultivate with

his own hands, was kept in excellent order. His favourite resting-place was at the door of the house facing the river. A stone bench stands on either side of the door, but there is no sheltering porch above, and the old man used to sit under a large white umbrella, with his dog Bran at his feet. For hours together, he would sit and gaze on the bright river which in his younger days had inspired him with so many of the patriotic sentiments he had expressed in spirit-stirring rhymes—in songs which still excite the German heart and nerve the German arm. He loved to follow with his eye the strong current so difficult to stem, and to watch the changes wrought by sunlight and shadow on the water, and on the magnificent scenery beyond. It was a pity that Father Arndt's fellow-townsmen, who rejoiced in that relationship to the patriot, and who greatly honour his memory, could not prevent the building of a large house that obstructed his view of the mountains in which he delighted. When he could no longer look upon those green headlands from the old familiar seat, another was put up under some filbert trees at one corner of the garden on the bank above the river: but that rustic bench is not much associated with the old man's memory. It is now sometimes occupied by those who have sought the spot to learn all they can about Ernst Moritz Arndt, whom they look upon as a man who stood among the German patriots of his day, as the Drachenfels stands among the Seven Mountains.

This venerable German leader was one of the deputation sent to offer the crown of united Germany to Frederick William IV., in the year 1849.* We know

* In March, 1849, the Frankfort Diet offered the title of Hereditary

how deeply that monarch desired to see Germany as one great nation, for he said—'The union of Germany lies at my heart, it is a heritage from my mother,' but that union was not yet consummated. The fruit planted in faith, nurtured by so many earnest labourers, watered by so many tears, was not ripe for the harvest: therefore the King of Prussia declined the crown. Again Arndt was disappointed, but he did not let go that notion of the oneness and unity of his beloved country, which he had firmly grasped through so many changeful years, through such diverse kinds of trials. 'He held it still with an intensity of faith which is almost, if not altogether, an inspiration. It was the ruling notion of his life, the assurance of his old age, the prophecy of his departure, the thing he was permitted to live beyond ninety years to foster, and which another decade has so marvellously brought to pass.' *

One who saw Father Arndt in his ninetieth year described him as 'a little broken from what he had been, but still a marvel of vitality, faith, and heartiness —a wonderful old man.' He died on the 29th of January, A.D. 1860. An immense concourse of people attended his funeral, and one of the most beautiful of his own hymns was sung over the open grave. It had been dug under an oak tree planted by himself to mark the spot in the cemetery where he wished to lie. His name is inscribed on a simple stone cross.†

Emperor of Germany to the King of Prussia; but he declined it unless the Emperor of Austria and all the other German states consented, and this they would not do.

* *Edinburgh Review*. October, 1870. In the passage quoted it is, 'so *nearly* and so marvellously brought to pass.' That word may now be omitted, as the achievement is accomplished. † See Appendix. Note 3.

A bronze statue, said to be a good likeness, has been erected to Arndt's memory at Bonn. It stands on a terrace above the Rhine: his right hand is pointing to the river. This monument was raised by subscription, the money being gladly given by those who had respected and loved the large-hearted patriot. It came in from many lands, collected over an area boundless as was his own idea of the German's Fatherland.

Yet this man was but one of many who zealously strove to blend patriotism and religion into one strong feeling of devotion to their country's cause; to instil into their comrades that lofty spirit, which, looking for its reward in another world, is superior to the dangers and temptations of the present. As a poet, Theodore Körner was pre-eminent among them, but he fell in early manhood, sealing his faith with his blood. The enthusiastic aspirations of these Christian heroes must often have been chilled and disappointed; nevertheless, the seed which they sowed in the German army, is to this day bearing fruit. Archibald Forbes says, 'They are a praying people, these Germans; and I fancied when the word *vorwärts* came sounding through the ranks, that many a man bent his head for a moment in his hand, as if he were entering a church.'

'Mademoiselle Gélieux spent the latter years of her useful life at Colombières, near the Lake of Neufchatel. She had returned to Switzerland to reside with her brother, a Swiss pastor, whose post of duty was in that retired spot among the mountains. The country life and all its simple objects of interest must have seemed a great change to one who had for years dwelt in a palace. Recollections of the past must have kept Mademoiselle Gélieux alive to the political occur-

rences that especially affected the Royal Family in which she had resided. The startling events of the campaign in the spring of 1814, and the entrance of the allied sovereigns into the French capital, excited universal astonishment. The imposing religious service held on the glorious Easter-day of that year could never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. By command of the Emperor Alexander, a large altar had been raised on the Plâce Louis Quinze—on the spot where the scaffold had stood on which the King and Queen of France and many noble victims had received the death-stroke of the guillotine. Bare-headed, around the altar the sovereigns, princes, marshals, and generals joined in the service, celebrated with extraordinary pomp according to the forms of the Greek Church, by the bishop and priest who had accompanied the Russian army. It was emphatically a Catholic service, for all Christendom was there represented, the uniforms of twenty victorious nations were to be seen round the altar.* So strong was the impression produced by the scene, that not a sound was to be heard in the vast concourse of thirty thousand soldiers who stood in close columns in the square. All the marshals of France in full uniform attended the ceremony. When, in accordance with the custom of the Greek Church, the cross—the emblem of Redemption—was held up, the head of every Christian was willingly bent, as with one accord to express the fundamental confession of Christian faith, in the great city, among whose people were some who had dared to raise an altar to the goddess of Reason.†

* Alison's *History of Europe.*

† The Greek is the established Church of Russia; it differs from the Church of Rome in several essential particulars. As regards the marriage of the parish priests, and the spiritual authority of the Pope: the first is

The wildest Cossacks present were over-awed by the scene: vivid descriptions of it sped in every direction, to every corner of liberated Europe. Many were the living hearts which rejoiced and gave glory to God, and many of the dead were thought of with the consoling assurance that their precious blood had not been spent in vain; that it had been shed in a holy cause, as the blood of martyrs must flow to nourish the still more precious seed entrusted to the Universal Church of Christ. Thus were Hofer and his brave comrades then remembered by their countrymen dwelling along the borders of the lakes and among the mountains of Switzerland.

While the exciting news, eagerly talked of in every wayside resting-place, in every family of high or low degree, was still fresh in remote Colombières, Mademoiselle Gélieux was startled by a pleasant surprise. One day, who should appear at the door of the Pastor's house but the King of Prussia and young Prince William. They had travelled from the French capital with only one gentleman in attendance. The King had had both his sons with him in Paris, where they had stayed about two months, and had been present at the Easter-day solemnity. Baron Von Stein had also been at that service. In one of the small apartments of his tower at Nassau there is an interesting engraving of the extraordinary scene. The Emperor of Russia had asked Von Stein to accompany him to London, when the Allied Sovereigns visited the Prince Regent, but the

enjoined instead of being prohibited; and the second denied instead of being obeyed. Also the worship of figures, statues, and graven images of any kind is unknown; but they use the sign of the cross continually, and express their devotion by much action of the body, bending and prostrating themselves when addressing the Deity in prayer.—*Alison.*

Baron had declined the invitation. The King of Prussia was accompanied by his sons, and his gallant brother, the elder Prince William. For nearly three weeks they were regally entertained in London, and thence returned to Paris, where they had separated: the Crown Prince was taking an excursion to Brussels, Amsterdam, and the Hague.*

Thoughts of his Louisa crowding upon his mind had led Frederick William to remember her governess, and he had travelled thus far to comfort himself by talking of the Queen with one who knew and loved her well. The King had brought Mademoiselle Gélieux a shawl which he felt sure she would value because it had been worn by Queen Louisa. His Majesty also presented her with a purse.

This visit must have vividly reminded the King of one which he had made twenty-two years before, when he and his lovely bride had taken the first tour after their marriage, as Crown Prince and Princess. In all the happiness of warm affection, with all the ardour of the love they bore to nature, the young husband and wife had enjoyed the grand scenery of Switzerland. They had then been to Colombières, and had caught a glimpse of life in a Swiss pastor's family.†

The King and his son extended their tour in Switzerland, and returned to Potsdam towards the end of July. The Crown Prince reached that town on the 25th. The grand entry of the troops into Berlin took place on the 7th of August; it was a very joyful and triumphant day.‡

The Princesses, who had not seen their brothers for several months, were struck with the alteration in

* See Appendix. Note 4. † Ibid. Note 5. ‡ Ibid. Note 6.

Prince William's appearance, he had grown and was looking strong and manly.

The Crown Prince had seen a good deal of active service for a youth not yet 20 years of age. He was thought a promising young soldier, although he had his father's peace-loving disposition, and moreover was gifted with the kind of genius which shines beneficently, as the glory of tranquil times.*

On the 8th of June, 1815, Prince William was confirmed at Charlottenburg. While preparing for confirmation the Prince was required to write his impressions and resolutions. He pondered over the great principles which should be as the strong foundation-stones to the character of the man, of the Christian, and of the Prince, and he arranged them under thirty-seven heads. They are chosen with careful discrimination, and are well defined. One of the resolutions touches on our subject: 'For the King, my father, I feel a reverential and tender love. It shall be my earnest endeavour to live in the way that will give him pleasure. I will humbly submit to the laws and the constitution of the kingdom: and I will ever bear in mind the virtues of the late Queen, my mother. As long as I live, my mother shall live in my heart in sweet, affectionate, and grateful recollections.'†

The Prince received his first communion in Berlin cathedral on the 11th of June, the Sunday before that on which the battle of Waterloo was fought. All the Royal Family then in Berlin were present on this important occasion.

* Frederick William IV. was sent into the field when he was too young to command; he was present at most of the great battles of 1814 and 1815. See Appendix. Note 7.

† Translated from the German of Dr Julius Lasker.

The King had determined on joining the army at the seat of war on the 22nd, and Prince William was to accompany him. The father and son set out together; when they reached the town of Merseburg, not far from Rosbach and Lützen, Colonel Thile met the King, announced the great victory of Waterloo, or, as the Prussians call it, La Belle Alliance, and delivered the important despatches to His Majesty.* The King entered Paris with his army; his two young sons and his brother William also entered the French capital on this triumphant occasion; the latter had fought gallantly in the tremendous battle.

The Emperor of Russia was staying at Heidelberg when he heard the news of the victory. He also went to Paris, and he invited Madame de Krüdener to follow him: that lady had gained great influence over his Imperial Majesty's religious feelings and opinions. She believed, that to be instrumental in the complete conversion of the Czar, was her special mission. She was a sincere enthusiast, and in judging her eccentric line of conduct two things should be kept in view; the great disadvantages under which she had lived out her childhood, youth, and early womanhood, and the fact that, in spite of them, she had become an earnest Christian. That fact, though supremely important, did not turn the draw-backs into direct blessings; on the contrary, they were the chief sources of her trials,—to them may be attributed her extraordinary restlessness, her distaste for the quiet duties and pleasures of life, and her insatiable thirst for novelty. These tendencies must be especially dangerous to persons, so situated that they can hear every

* See Appendix. Note 8.

degree of religious belief advocated, from fanaticism to infidelity, and the danger must be the greater to one whose early education has been neglected, in whose mind no definite principles have been implanted, who belongs to no particular branch of the Church. The Holy Alliance was her great work, and it was a grand idea. Persuaded by her eloquence, Alexander was led into the belief that the time had arrived when the peaceful reign promised in Holy Scripture might commence on earth, that the power of the Gospel might for ever supersede that of the sword. The Emperor and Madame de Krüdener spent much time together in Paris devising means for establishing a common international law, founded on Christianity, which was at once to extinguish religious divisions and warlike contests all over Europe. The Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia agreed to join with the Czar, and a treaty was drawn up which bound the sovereigns to certain conditions, and by which they confessed their dependence on the King of kings, to whom alone belong power and glory. This treaty was signed by Francis, Frederick William, and Alexander; and ere long it was acceded to by nearly all the continental sovereigns, but it was signed by the sovereigns alone without the sanction or intervention of their ministers. The Prince Regent of England, by the advice of Lord Castlereagh, judiciously declared, that while he adhered to the principles of that Alliance, the restraints imposed upon him as a constitutional monarch prevented him from becoming a party to any convention which was not countersigned by a responsible minister.*

* *History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon.* By Sir Archibald Alison. Vol. i. pp. 219, 220.

This celebrated Alliance, the creation of the benevolent dreams of the Emperor and the mystical conceptions of Madame de Krüdener, was amiable in design, but incapable of application in a world such as that in which we are placed.*

When Alexander, before he left Paris, took leave of Madame de Krüdener he gave her a warm invitation to St Petersburg, which was accepted. This remarkable lady created a great sensation in the Russian capital. Numbers of persons whose minds had become imbued with a certain mysticism which was prevalent in the Greek Church were attracted towards Madame de Krüdener, and adopted her visionary views. She considered that she had a mission to wander from land to land, to preach to the people who assembled by thousands to hear her, and she was also very zealous in her endeavours to circulate the Scriptures. She always pointed to the Saviour on the Cross; therefore, no doubt, there were individual cases in which she did good. Contemporary opinions concerning her were as various as possible. Baur remarks, 'Madame de Krüdener was, no doubt, filled with holy zeal, but her religious character retained a flavour of that of the adventurous woman of the world, the romance writer, the homeless wanderer, whose life had never had the stay afforded by having real work to do. By interfering in politics she offended the Czar, who caused her to be informed that her residence in his capital would only be permitted, so long as she refrained from speaking publicly on the affairs of Greece and the relations between that country and Russia. Madame de Krüdener

* *History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon.* By Sir Archibald Alison. Vol. ii. p. 187.

thought this was a hint that she had better retire; she did so, and in deep dejection secluded herself in a rural retreat. Here her health gave way, and an illness came on which in the end proved fatal. A few days before her death she wrote to her son: "The good that I have done will remain; the harm that I have done—and how often have I not mistaken the workings of my own imagination and pride for the voice of God!—God in His mercy will wipe away, for my Saviour's sake."'* A touching confession, for it comes home to all. Who does not hope that such words may apply to his own case when he takes leave of the world?

King Frederick William III. survived his beloved Queen thirty years. He died on the 7th of June, 1840, having reigned forty-three years. A long and glorious reign it was, though heavily clouded through the years from Jena to Waterloo. It was also an eventful and prosperous reign, for, notwithstanding the misfortunes against which he had had to contend, the King was permitted to have the satisfaction of leaving the country more extensive, more powerful, and more wealthy than it had ever been before.

Through all the changes he had experienced since he ascended the throne, Frederick William had cherished the earnest desire to erect a monument to the memory of Frederick II. Want of money, war, and other circumstances had delayed the accomplishment of this wish, and at last the foundation-stone was laid when the King was too weak to be present on the spot. He was carried to a side window of his palace (now the Crown Prince's Palace) which commands the

* Baur's *Religious Life in Germany*, vol. ii. p. 127.

view down *Unter den Linden*, and from that window he saw the ceremony performed a few days before his eyes were closed in death, for the stone was laid on the 1st of June, and he expired on the 7th of that month, A.D. 1840. Throughout that sad Whit Sunday when the King, with all his family round him, lay dying, the doors of the palace were thronged with anxious inquirers. The aged monarch, who had attained his seventieth year, was very dear to his people, and they could not bear to part with him. His spirit passed gently away, and his remains were conveyed to Charlottenburg, and laid beside those of Queen Louisa. The mausoleum was enlarged, and a second altar tomb erected, on which lies another recumbent figure, also by Rauch. Light from above, let in through blue glass, casts a soft shade over the pure white marble. The likenesses are excellent, and the expression of perfect repose is wonderfully given, especially in the countenance and attitude of the King. The sculptor worked from the heart as well as with the head and hand, and the cenotaphs are worthy of Frederick William III. and Queen Louisa. In the whole mausoleum, indeed, we see a monument bearing witness to the artistic genius, the pure taste, and the high religious feeling of Frederick William IV., who improved on and completed what his father had begun: he made it beautiful as it is, and hallowed it with many a text of Scripture. Turn which way you will, the eye is attracted by some glorious promise, or some striking words which assure us of the indissoluble connection between this transitory life and life eternal.

The name of Frederick William IV. does not appear anywhere on the edifice dedicated to the memory of

his parents. Therefore many persons walk between the marble slabs which cover the little space of earth occupied by the remains of the good King and Queen, without being aware that the heart of their eldest son lies under the narrow path. It rests at the feet of his father and mother, enclosed in a case of Mark Brandenburg granite, interred there according to the directions in his will.*

Nothing can be more beautiful than is that mausoleum at Charlottenburg on a genial day in spring. Queen Louisa loved that season because it accorded with her own cheerful disposition. She seems to have been given to her husband, to her country, to all who knew her in life, or who trace out her course through

* 'If the Lord my God grant that I should end my days quietly in my home, as I fervently entreat him on my knees, and if the Queen, my beloved Elizabeth, should survive me, this paper shall be given to her directly after my decease. Whatever she shall alter in it is to be obeyed as if it were here written: her desires shall command me. I wish to rest as near her as possible in the same grave. As soon as my death has been certified by the physicians, my body is to be washed and opened, and my heart is to be enclosed in a heart of proportionate size, made of the granite of our Mark, and is to be placed at the entrance of the vault at Charlottenburg; consequently, at the feet of my parents. It is to be embedded in the stone floor of the vault, built into the pavement and covered.' Directions are then given for the interment of his body in front of the steps leading up to the altar, in the beautiful *Friedenskirche* (the Church of Peace), which he had erected near Potsdam, where he now rests, and where his widowed Queen has lately been placed by his side. The vault is immediately under the lectern which was placed in the church by Frederick William IV.; it is not, as is usual, a brass eagle, but a pure white marble angel sitting on a rock, holding the trumpet and the book. The expression of waiting in perfect patience and readiness to obey instantly the expected command from above, is wonderfully given. This exquisite sculpture, from which the Holy Scriptures are read, serves as the monument to the King and Queen. The marble slab above their remains lies at the feet of the angel: on her wings the Bible seems to rest. The whole aspect of the church, though very beautiful, is quiet and peaceful, as its name imports.

this world of sorrow, as the fresh unfolding leaves are given to mingle with the dark pine branches. In May, when the horse-chestnuts are bursting into bloom, when the nightingale draws out his long clear note, the circular garden plot in front of the building is bright and fragrant, and the path which sweeps round it is bordered with forget-me-not, blue as the sky above it. All the sweet influences there are peaceful and happy. Death is blessedness—rest to the body, and to the spirit freedom, and a foretaste of glory.

Frederick William III. did not lose a son or daughter after the death of his wife, they were all spared to cheer his declining years. He left four sons and three daughters. The sons were:—

1. Frederick William IV., who married Elizabeth, a Princess of Bavaria. He died childless, A.D. 1861.

2. William, the reigning King of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany. He married Augusta, sister of the present Duke of Saxe-Weimar, daughter of the late Duke, and grand-daughter of Goethe's patron the famous Duke Charles Augustus, and his wife, the brave Duchess who received Napoleon. That Princess was, as we have seen, a daughter of Louis IX., Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and his wife Caroline. Therefore the Empress Augusta is a descendant of the celebrated Landgravine.

3. Prince Charles, who married Marie of Saxe-Weimar, an elder sister of his brother William's wife. Prince Frederick Charles is their son.

4. Prince Albert, who married a Princess of the Netherlands, from whom he was divorced. He died towards the close of A.D. 1872.

The three daughters of King Frederick William III. and Queen Louisa were :—

1. The Princess Charlotte, who married the Grand Duke Nicholas, a younger brother of the Emperor Alexander, who in 1826 became the Czar of Russia. Charlotte was the mother of the present Czar. She died in 1860.*

2. Alexandrine, who became the wife of the late Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and is the mother of the reigning Grand-Duke.

3. Louisa, who married the second son of William I., King of the Netherlands, commander of the 6th Regt. of Westphalian Infantry in the Prussian army. This youngest and much-loved sister of the Emperor William died while the war of 1870 was going on.

* See Appendix. Note 9.

APPENDIX.

Note 1, page 288, vol. i.

DESCRIPTION OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE.

'ALL the impressions produced by the Castle at a distance are as nothing when you stand within its vast area, and behold the architecture of all ages blended into one mighty ruin! The rich hues of the masonry, the sweeping façades, every description of building which man ever framed for war or for luxury, is here; all having only the common character—*ruin*. The feudal rampart, the yawning foss, the rude tower, the splendid arch—the strength of a fortress, the magnificence of a palace—all united, strike upon the soul like the history of a fallen empire in all its epochs.'—*Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton.*

Note 2, page 338, vol. ii.

CHRISTIAN DANIEL RAUCH was born A.D. 1777. His father was *valet de chambre* to the Prince of Waldeck. He had an elder brother who held a situation in King Frederick William II.'s household at Sans-Souci Palace; and by his brother's assistance he, at an early age, obtained an inferior place in the royal household. On the death of the

King, Christian thought of leaving, as he desired to follow the bent of his natural genius and to study art, but Frederick William III. and Queen Louisa advised him to remain in their service, and promised to allow him leisure for studying and working under the course of instruction given in the Academy of Art. The Queen, perceiving great merit in some of the small works he executed, offered to furnish him with the means for studying at Rome, and this gracious proposal was thankfully accepted. Before he left Prussia he finished a bust of Her Majesty which greatly pleased the King, who liberally rewarded him.

William Von Humboldt, then Prussian minister at Rome, assisted Rauch, and did much towards developing his talent. Canova and Thorwaldsen were also sincerely his friends during the six years he spent in the immortal city.

When the King of Prussia was intending to erect a superb monument to the memory of his deceased Queen, he thought of employing Canova; but Rauch, who had earnestly desired and hoped to do it, took the disappointment so much to heart, that, with Canova's consent, the work was transferred to him. Rauch returned from Berlin to Italy to execute the monument; he worked on the marble at Carrara and in Rome.

An extraordinary adventure befell the finished sculpture. The ship which was conveying it from Italy was captured by an American privateer, and re-taken by an English vessel, whose commander put the monument safely on shore at Jersey, whence it was forwarded to Hamburg. Rauch when travelling homewards by land, read, at Munich, an account of the capture of his work. Despairing of its recovery, he was on the point of returning to Italy to recommence his labour, when he heard that the sculpture had reached its destination. On the fifth anniversary of Queen Louisa's death the mausoleum was opened to receive this beautiful work of art. The admiration it attracted soon gave

Rauch a European reputation; yet he was not altogether satisfied himself with the figure of the Queen. Under the idea, that having nothing but his own taste to consult he could make it more perfect, he began another, which he worked on at his leisure during more than ten years. This second statue he intended to keep, but when the King saw it he desired to possess it, and the sculptor could not decline to part with it. It was placed in a small building, a *tempel* on the royal estate at Potsdam, which stands between the Crown Prince's Palace and Sans-Souci.

Rauch worked indefatigably until his last days; he died at Dresden December 3, 1857. Germany acknowledges him as the greatest sculptor she has ever produced, and his numerous works are scattered over that country, divided among the chief cities of the empire, but Berlin has the most of them. His *chef-d'œuvre*, Frederick the Great, is full of animation. Blucher, Gneisenau, and York, are full of character and spirit. His mortuary monuments express with singular power the deep truth that death is not annihilation—not a sleep from which there is no waking, though everything about them breathes repose.

Note 3, page 357, vol. ii.

Hymn by E. M. Arndt, sung at his funeral.

'GO AND DIG MY GRAVE TO-DAY.'

Go and dig my grave to-day:
Weary of my wanderings all,
Now from earth I pass away,
For the heavenly peace doth call;
Angel voices from above
Call me to their rest and love.

Go and dig my grave to-day:
  Homeward doth my journey tend,
And I lay my staff away
  Here where all things earthly end,
And I lay my weary head
On the only painless bed.

What yet is there I should do,
  Lingering in this darksome vale?
Proud and mighty, fair to view,
  Are our schemes, and yet they fail,
Like the sand before the wind
That no power of man can bind.

Farewell, O ye much-loved friends:
  Grief hath smote you as a sword,
But the Comforter descends
  Unto them who love the Lord.
Weep not o'er a passing show,
To the eternal world I go.

Weep not that I take my leave
  Of the world, that I exchange
Errors that too closely cleave,
  Shadows, empty ghosts that range
Through this world of naught and night,
For a land of truth and light.

Weep not, my Redeemer lives;
  Heavenward, springing from the dust
Clear-eyed Hope her comfort gives;
  Faith, Heaven's champion, bids us trust;
Love eternal whispers nigh,
Child of God, fear not to die.

As translated in 'Lyra Germanica,' published by Longman, 1857.

Note 4, page 361, vol. ii.

THE following passage occurs in a diary written by Sir George Jackson at Berlin on the 2nd of June, 1815 :—

'The King of Prussia arrived yesterday. There is to be a grand review of the troops, who will leave on Saturday for Frankfort. A few dépôts only will remain at Berlin. The Prince Royal and his cousin Prince Frederick will go with the battalions that are placed under their orders. Prince William, the King's second son, will remain at the army with his father. . . . Bonaparte is preparing for the campaign with as much diligence as his opponents. It is indeed fortunate that he has had to prepare, that he did not find a large army awaiting only a leader.'*

Note 5, page 361, vol. ii.

VISIT OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS, THEIR RELATIVES AND ATTENDANTS, TO ENGLAND, IN JUNE, 1814.

THE royal visitors landed at Dover, and thence proceeded to London. All along the route they were enthusiastically received by the English people. Arrived in the metropolis, they were fêted in the palaces, and magnificently entertained at Guildhall. At Oxford they were received with academic honours, and feasted in the Radcliff Library. On the 22nd of June they went to Portsmouth, where they spent three days; the Duke of Clarence, then Port Admiral, showed them every object of interest. The Prince Regent and his guests left London for Portsmouth at 9, and arrived about 4 o'clock on the same day. At 7 o'clock a grand banquet was served in the Government House—a portion of the old Domus Dei founded in the 13th century by Peter de

* *The Bath Archives*, vol. ii. pages 488, 489. Bentley, London, 1873.

Rupilus, Bishop of Winchester. This and other hospitals of the kind, instituted in those early times for the benefit of the poor and aged, for homeless wanderers and weary travellers, were truly houses of God. If the simple-minded brothers and sisters of by-gone generations could have risen from their graves, they would have been greatly astonished by the brilliant scene presented on the occasion of this royal visit. The old walls rang with the shouts of the multitude, thousands of lamps lighted the temporary erections fitted up for the Prince Regent and his illustrious guests. The grand naval review took place on the 24th. Thirty frigates and ships of the line showed Britain's power to rule the waves. On the afternoon of that day the Duke of Wellington arrived at Portsmouth, and awaited at Government House the return of the Prince Regent and the august party who had gone to the review. On seeing Wellington his Royal Highness hastened towards the gallant General, seized his hand, and turning to the assembled sovereigns and their attendant officers, he said—'England's glory is now complete, it needed only the presence of your Grace.'

On this memorable occasion the King of Prussia was accompanied by his sons, the Crown Prince and Prince William; by his brother, the elder Prince William, and by his nephew, Prince Frederick. The Czar of Russia was accompanied by his brothers, by his sister the Duchess of Oldenburg, and by Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Each of the allied sovereigns was attended by several noblemen of his court. Every eye sought Prince Blucher, who was looked upon in England with grateful admiration.

This was the very last occasion on which that venerable guest-house afforded hospitality. The Garrison Church, also formerly a part of the Domus Dei, is now the only existing relic of that ancient institution. The sacred edifice was allowed to become almost a ruin, but it is being carefully restored. Each of the stalls and windows, in short,

everything belonging to the church, is dedicated to the memory of some hero, who, under God, fought and conquered. Thus the whole structure is a national monument, and every patriot may be glad to aid in its reconstruction, every one who feels that the strong fiery impulses of patriotism should be hallowed and directed by religion.

See *The Story of the Domus Dei of Portsmouth*, by Archdeacon Wright. Published in aid of the fund for restoring the church. Parker, London.

Note 6, page 361, vol. ii.

A German lady who visited Mademoiselle Gélieux in the year 1818 thus describes her visit:—

'Mademoiselle Gélieux seemed glad to talk to me of the happy days she had spent at Darmstadt. She spoke with warm gratitude of the amiable Grand Duchess Louisa: This Princess was third daughter of the Princess George William, with whom Mademoiselle Gélieux lived as governess to her grand-daughters the Princesses of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Her pupil, the Princess Louisa (the Grand Duchess's god-daughter), was a charming child. Mademoiselle remained with her and her sister until their education was completed: she recollected the time when they were betrothed to the Princes of Prussia. You may see in the forest of Gerau (I have seen it) a stone set up in memory of the happy meeting between the young lovers. The Princes were then living in camp at, or near, Mainz. There was at that time a posting-house and hotel on the road at Gross Gerau; the landlady was famous for providing excellent little dinners. The Grand Duchess Louisa always enjoyed going there.

'When I visited Mademoiselle Gélieux in 1818, the King of Prussia had quite recently given her a portrait of the late

Queen (her beloved pupil) as a souvenir. I envied her that portrait. It was painted in enamel, and was a perfect likeness. At that time I felt great enthusiasm for Queen Louisa, so good, so beautiful, and so severely tried; and I own that it seems to me to be very difficult, almost impossible, to write her memoir in a spirit worthy of such a life as hers—a life of high aspirations, actuated, not by selfish motives, but by warm affections and ardent desires to do good.'

The Princess Louisa of Hesse-Darmstadt, whom Mademoiselle Gélieux's friend calls the Grand Duchess, did not attain that title until 1806. When Mademoiselle Gélieux first lived at Darmstadt, that Princess was the young wife of the Hereditary Prince, who was by birth her cousin. He succeeded his father as Louis X., Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, in 1790—became the first Grand Duke in 1806, and died in 1830.

Note 7, page 362, vol. ii.

When the troops about to enter Berlin arrived in front of the Brandenburg Gate, the word of command was given to halt, and the King stood up to give a short address. With that integrity which was his special characteristic, he said—'If this high honour is given to those to whom it is due—to General Blucher and the Prussian army, I will enter with them as the sovereign head of a grateful people, but personally I have no right to participate in the honour of a military triumph, I have done nothing to deserve it, and I wish it to be clearly understood that I disclaim that to which I am not entitled.' Frederick William III. had no desire to seem more than he was: from his youth upwards he had felt, though perhaps almost unconsciously, the

wisdom of a great man's words:—'*Be always honest and sincere, and never try to appear what you are not, but always be more than you appear.*'

It seems that two days later, on the 9th of August, the King again entered the city, accompanied by all the members of the Royal Family, all the officers of state, and the whole *corps diplomatique*. 'The hurrah that greeted His Majesty as soon as the *cortège* came in sight—the long hurrah that burst from the crowd, that rolled along the lines of soldiers, and was repeated, like reverberating thunder, was really astounding, and must have sent a thrill of delight through one made of sterner stuff than Frederick William III. A more spontaneous and hearty shout of joy never yet rang through the air, and told a Prince that he was beloved by his people.'

'A pleasant feature in this welcome, was the surprise prepared for the King as he approached from Charlottenburg, and saw the Car of Victory replaced on the Brandenburg Gate. This had been done in the night, and the car and horses covered with a sort of veil which, as the great cry of welcome arose, was drawn away, and disclosed the celebrated car of which Bonaparte had robbed Berlin, restored as a trophy of victory, retaken from the enemy. The idea was good, and the realization impressive. To this followed a thanksgiving service in the open air, in the wide *Pariser Platz*, just within the gate. The sun shone out suddenly from behind the threatening clouds, with a very bright beam, and gladdened the scene, as well as the hearts of many who regarded it as ominous of a happy future for Prussia, and a response, as it were, to the words just uttered by the King and the whole assembly kneeling: '*Herr Gott dich loben wir*,—the German *Te Deum laudamus*.' *

* *Bath Archives*, vol. ii. pp. 445, 446.

Note 8, page 363, vol. ii.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO, OR LA BELLE ALLIANCE.

THE efforts made by the Allied Powers to grapple promptly with the French Emperor were indeed gigantic. Marshal Blucher entered Belgium with 116,000 Prussians, the Duke of Wellington with about 106,000 troops, either British, or in British pay. Napoleon determined to attack his enemies in Belgium. The disparity of numbers was greatly against him, but his army, composed exclusively of French soldiers, mostly of veterans, was under his own sole command. He felt sanguine of success, hoping to prevent a junction of the Prussians with the British, and to attack each separately. On the 16th of June, Napoleon, in person, attacked Blucher at Ligny, and after a hard-fought battle defeated him, and compelled the Prussian army to retire northwards, towards Wavre. On the same day Marshal Ney attacked the English at Quatre Bras. The French were not decidedly victorious, but they succeeded in preventing the English from sending help to the Prussians.

Having ascertained that the Prussian army, though beaten on the 16th, was not broken, and having received a promise from Blucher that he would march to his assistance, Wellington gave the word to halt, and resolved to give battle to Napoleon in a valley, between two and three miles long, on each side of which there is a winding range of low hills running almost parallel to each other. The English army was posted on the northern, and the French on the southern ridge. The village of Mont St Jean stands a little behind the centre of the northern chain of hills, and the village of La Belle Alliance is close behind the centre of the southern ridge, consequently it was just under the height occupied by the French troops. The high road from Charleroi to Brussels passes through both those villages; and it was by this road that Napoleon intended to advance on

Brussels. The night between the 17th and 18th of June was very stormy, and at day-break on the 18th, when both armies began to move, each on the high ground it occupied, the rain was falling heavily. Napoleon, who was already stirring, left the farm of Caillon, and established himself on one at La Belle Alliance. That spot commanded a view of the entire valley which was to be the scene of action. The Emperor took his place on a grassy mound; there, with a table, spread with maps, before him, with his officers round him, and their saddled horses waiting at the foot of the mound, he watched the two armies making ready for the combat. Towards nine o'clock the weather brightened, and sunshine brought clearly to light the preparations for the deadly struggle. At half-past eleven Napoleon gave the signal, which was immediately answered by 120 French guns.*

Blucher found it no easy matter to keep his promise. 'Forwards, my men, forwards!' 'It cannot be done, it is impossible,' was the reply; but he persisted. 'I have promised my brother Wellington; *promised*, do you hear? You would not have me break my word?' And it was done.

About six o'clock they reached Planchenoit, a village behind La Belle Alliance, and there they were joined by the cavalry commanded by Prince William. The Prussians, urged on by the ardour of their generals, fought desperately for possession of the high road leading from Charleroi to Brussels, the only line of retreat still open to the enemy. They gained the ground and held it till the victory was complete. 'At half-past seven the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The French were fighting with the fury of despair, some unsteadiness was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that several pieces of cannon

* As described by Creasy and Thiers.

were drawing off. At that moment General Ziethen's corps reached the point of attack on the right flank of the enemy, and charged immediately. The fortune of the day was in that instant decided. The enemy's right wing was driven in on three sides. He abandoned his position: the Prussians rushed forward *au pas de charge*, whilst the English line made a movement in advance. Not only circumstances, but also the nature of the ground, favoured the attack of the Prussian army, enabling them to form their brigades in perfect order, while fresh troops continually showed themselves arriving from the forest on the heights in the rear. The French preserved the means of retreat, until the Prussians had, after several sanguinary conflicts, taken the village of Planchenoit by assault. A panic then spread through the whole French army, and they fled in fearful confusion. It was half-past nine when Field-Marshal Blucher assembled the superior officers, and gave orders that they should continue the pursuit of the enemy even to the sending after them their last man and their last horse.' *

The British army, exhausted by the trials of that dreadful day, did not advance beyond the heights which the enemy had occupied. The very important charge of conducting the pursuit was entrusted by the Prussian Field-Marshal to the noble Gneisenau.

When the shades of evening had closed over that never-to-be-forgotten day, when the stars were glimmering out, the Duke of Wellington, to assure himself that victory was fully achieved, rode back along the Charleroi road towards the village of Waterloo, looking on the ghastly scene illuminated by the gentle beams of the moon in her first quarter, and by the lurid glare of flaming villages and homesteads. By a curiously happy chance Wellington and Blucher met near La Belle Alliance, and exchanged con-

* *The Bath Archives*, vol. ii. p. 500. A continuation of *Letters and Diaries of Sir George Jackson*. Bentley, London, 1873.

gratulations. They agreed that the Prussians should follow up the fugitives so urgently as to leave them no opportunity of rallying; the moonlight night was favourable to the pursuers.

Sir George Jackson describes that farm as visible from all parts of the field, as the centre of the position occupied by the French, as the point to which the march of the whole of the Prussian columns was directed. It was there Bonaparte remained during the battle, there he issued his orders, there he flattered himself that the victory was his, and there his defeat was accomplished: there also Wellington and Blucher saluted each other as conquerors.*

Blucher requested that the battle might be called that of La Belle Alliance, and thus the Prussians usually designate it. The name appears on our grand Waterloo picture, painted on Westminster Palace by Daniel Maclise. The artist has treated his impressive subject admirably: it is a picture which bears looking into, and reflecting on. The two principal figures stand before a ruined dwelling-house; the trees that shade it still denote 'the leafy month of June,' though all the charms of rural peace have been frightened away. The pigeons have fled from their dove-cote; one of the birds lies dead on the broken-in roof of the house; its walls are battered, but the sign which seems to show that it was a guest-house or *Restauration* for travellers, as well as a farm-house, yet remains. On that rustic board, just above the heads of the heroes who are grasping each other's hands, we read the sign 'A La Belle Alliance.' Blucher is the sturdy veteran, all earnestness in face and gesture. Wellington, on his favourite charger Copenhagen, is the perfect soldier in his prime. The expression of his countenance is sad, though calm and resolute. All the British and Prussian officers around the Generals are portraits; the details of

* *Bath Archives*, vol. ii. p. 500.

the battle-field are true to life, or rather—true to suffering and death. Two wounded Connaught Rangers are cheering the Duke with frantic pride, for is he not their countryman as well as the great commander who has led them on to victory? There are other lively or touching episodes in this pictured story of an eventful hour; more than can be seen at a glance, for every portion of the fresco is in itself a study worthy of contemplation.

In the Crown Prince's Palace at Berlin there is a painting by Menzel, entitled—'The Greeting of Blucher and Wellington.' It is one of a series of five which adorn the walls of a handsome circular saloon, decorated and furnished in 1857, when the palace was being prepared for the reception of the promised bride. The other pictures of the series represent—'The Landing of Frederick William III. and his sons in England, and their reception by the Prince Regent, in 1814' (by Schrader); 'Frederick William IV. standing at the font as god-father to Albert Edward Prince of Wales' (by Eybel); 'Windsor Castle' (by Schirmer); 'Babelsberg, the beautiful castle overlooking the Havel, not far from Potsdam; the Crown Princess's first country residence in Prussia' (by Graeb). The paintings on the ceiling, by Kloeber, illustrate, in an allegorical way, works of Art, Science, and Industry. In this *Gedenk-halle*, or Hall of Remembrance, there are valuable wedding presents from all parts of Germany and Great Britain.

Note 9, page 370, vol. ii.

THE Grand Duke Nicholas was many years younger than his brother Alexander. When their father Paul met with a violent death, he left ten children. Alexander was 24, Constantine 22 years of age; then followed six daughters.

Then Nicholas and Michael; the former was not quite five years old.

The Grand Duke Constantine, before his brother's death, having no desire to reign, and having no legal heir, had willingly resigned his right to the Crown. He had previously divorced his wife, a Princess of Coburg, and had contracted a morganatic marriage with the daughter of a Polish Count. He could not make this lady Czarina, as she was not of royal birth.

Constantine resigned the crown in favour of Nicholas, who ascended the throne A.D. 1826, died in 1855, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander II., the reigning Czar. His Imperial Majesty married a daughter of Louis II., Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt. They have become the parents of seven children, but have lost their eldest son. The second son, Alexander, now Hereditary Grand Duke (or *Cesarovitch*), married the second daughter of Christian IX., King of Denmark (sister of the Princess of Wales).

Of the Czar's six surviving children, five are sons, and the only daughter is *Marie Alexandrovitch*, Duchess of Edinburgh. Her Royal Highness has three brothers older and two younger than herself.

THE END.

ERRATUM.

On page 96, line 24, *for* Marianne *read* Amelia Marianne.

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